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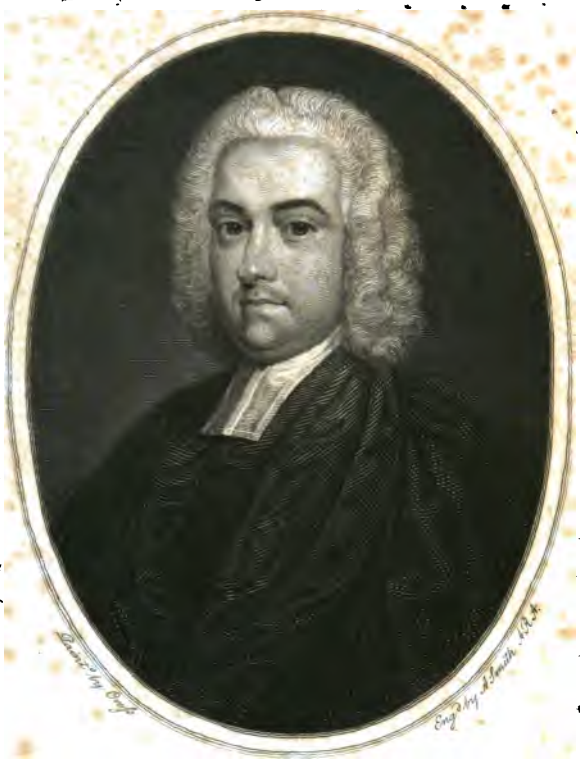

IOANNES · IORTIN

MORTALIS · ESSE · DESIIT

ANNO · SALVTIS · MDCCLXX

AETATIS · LXXII

Published by I White, Fleet Street, May 1, 1805.

DISCOURSES

CONCERNING

THE TRUTH

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION;

AND

REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY THE LATE REVEREND

JOHN JORTIN, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE EAST, AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN WHITE, FLEET-STREET,

By RICHARD TAYLOR *and* Co. *Shoe Lane.*

1805.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In publishing an uniform and complete edition of the Works of Dr. JORTIN, it is hoped that his descendants have performed a no less acceptable service to enlightened Scholars and Christians of a liberal mind than a grateful act to themselves. In addition to the Memoirs of their venerable Ancestor, written by his Friend Dr. HEATHCOTE, and the Supplementary Notices which their Father subjoined, they have only to observe, that these Volumes, which were printed from the Copies of the Author, with such Alterations and Additions as they were found to contain, have passed through the press under the inspection of Friends to whom his memory is dear.

The prefixed Portrait, now first engraven, is an exquisite resemblance of the original; and was taken from a picture of Dr. JORTIN, in his daughter's possession.

JOHN, ROGERS, AND SAMUEL JORTIN.

London, 1805.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

DR. JORTIN.

DR. JORTIN was born in London, the 23d of October 1698. His father Renatus, who was of Bretagne, in France, came over to England about 1685, when Protestantism was no longer tolerated in that country; was made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1691; became afterwards secretary to Lord Orford, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesly Shovel; and was cast away with the last, the 22d of October 1706. His mother was Martha Rogers, of an antient and respectable family in Bucks, which had produced some clergymen distinguished by their abilities and learning. He was trained at the Charter-House school, where he made a good proficiency in Greek and Latin: his French he learned at home, and understood and spake that language well.

In May 1715 he was admitted of Jesus College in Cambridge; and, about two years after, recommended by his tutor, Dr. Styan Thirlby, who was

very fond of him, and always retained a friendship for him, to make extracts from Eustathius, for the use of Pope's Homer. He was not directly employed by Pope; nor did it ever happen to him to see the face of that poet; for, being of a shy, modest nature, he felt no impulse to force his way to him; nor did the other make inquiry about him, though perfectly satisfied with what he had done for him.

He took a Bachelor of Arts degree in January 1718-19, and a Master's in 1722: he had been chosen Fellow of his college soon after the taking of his first degree. This year he distinguished himself by the publication of a few Latin poems, entitled Lusus Poetici, which were well received. September 1723, he entered into Deacon's orders, and into Priest's the June following. January 1726-7, he was presented by his college to Swavesey, near Cambridge; but marrying a daughter of Mr. Chibnall, of Newport Pagnell, Bucks, in 1728, he resigned that living, and soon after settled himself in London.

In this town he spent the next two-and-thirty years of his life; for, though the Earl of Winchelsea gave him the living of Eastwell in Kent, where he resided a little time; yet he very soon quitted it, and returned to London. Here for many years he had employment as a preacher in several chapels; with the emoluments of which, and a decent competency of his own, he supported himself and his family in a respectable though private manner, dividing his leisure hours between his books and his friends, especially those of the *Literati*, with whom he always kept up a close and intimate connection.

In 1730 he published Four Sermons on the

Truth of the Christian Religion; the substance of which was afterwards incorporated in a work of his, entitled Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion; printed in 1746, in octavo.

In 1731 he published Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors Antient and Modern, in two volumes, octavo. This is a collection of critical remarks, of which however he was not the sole, though principal, author; Pearce, Mason, and others, were contributors to it. In 1751, Archbishop Herring gave him, unasked, the living of St. Dunstan in the East, London. This prelate, with whom he had been long acquainted, had entertained a high and affectionate regard for him; had endeavoured aforetime to serve him in many instances, with others; and afterwards, in 1755, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This same year, 1751, came out his first volume of Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, octavo. This work was inscribed to the Earl of Burlington, by whom, as trustee for the Boylean Lecture, he had, through the application of Archbishop Herring and Bishop Sherlock, been appointed in 1749 to preach that Lecture. There is a Preface to this volume of more than forty pages, an admirable one indeed; for, besides much learning and ingenuity displayed throughout, it is full of the spirit of liberty and candour. These Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History were continued, in four succeeding volumes, down to the year 1517, when Luther began the work of Reformation: two published by himself, in 1752 and 1754; and two after his death, in 1773.

In 1755 he published Six Dissertations upon different Subjects, in octavo. The Sixth Dissertation is on the state of the dead, as described by

Homer and Virgil; and the remarks in this, tending to establish the great antiquity of the doctrine of a future state, interfered with Dr. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moses, and drew upon him a very severe attack from that quarter. He made no reply; but in his Adversaria the following memorandum is found, which shows that he did not oppose the notions of other men from any spirit of envy or opposition, but from a full persuasion that the real matter of fact was as he had represented it. 'I have examined,' says he, 'the state of the dead as described by Homer and Virgil, and upon that Dissertation I am willing to stake all the little credit that I have as a critic and a philologer. I have there observed, that Homer was not the inventor of the fabulous histories of the gods: he had those stories, and also the doctrine of a future state, from old traditions. Many notions of the Pagans, which came from tradition, are considered by Barrow, Serm. VIII. Vol. II. in which sermon the existence of God is proved from universal consent. See also Bibl. Chois. I. 356. and Bibl. Univ. IV. 433.'

In 1758 came out his Life of Erasmus, in one volume, quarto; and in 1760 another volume, quarto, containing Remarks upon the Works of Erasmus, and an Appendix of Extracts from Erasmus, and other Writers. In the Preface to the former volume, he says, that 'Le Clerc, while he published the works of Erasmus at Leyden, drew up his Life in French, collected principally from his Letters, and inserted it into the Bibliothèque Choisie; that as this Life was favourably received by the public, he had taken it as a ground-work to build upon; and had translated it, not superstitiously and closely, but with much freedom, and

with more attention to things than to words; but that he had made continual additions, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the Life of Erasmus; especially where Le Clerc grew more remiss, either wearied with the task, or called off from these to other labours.' After mentioning a few other matters to his *Readers*, he turns his discourse to his *Friends*; 'recommending himself to their favour, whilst he is with them, and his name when he is gone hence; and entreating them in a wish, that he may pass the evening of a studious and unambitious life in a humble but not a slothful obscurity; and never forfeit the kind continuance of their accustomed approbation.'

But whatever he or his friends might wish, he was to live hereafter neither so studiously nor so obscurely as his imagination had figured out to him: more public scenes than any he had yet been engaged in still awaited him. For Dr. Hayter, Bishop of London, with whom, by the way, he had always been upon intimate terms, dying in 1762; and Dr. Osbaldeston, who was also his friend, succeeding to that see; he was made domestic chaplain to this bishop in March, admitted into a Prebend of St. Paul's the same month, and in October presented to the living of Kensington, whither he went to reside soon after.

In 1764 he was appointed Archdeacon of London, and might have had the Rectory of St. James, Westminster; but chose rather to continue at Kensington, that being a situation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age. Here he lived, occupied (when his pastoral functions permitted) amongst his books, and enjoying himself with his usual serenity, till the 27th of

August, 1770, when, being seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs, he grew continually worse, notwithstanding all assistance; and, without undergoing much pain in the course of his illness, or losing his understanding in the least, died the 5th of September, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was buried in the new church-yard at Kensington, as he had directed; and had a flat stone laid over him, with this Inscription, dictated by himself:

JOANNES JORTIN
Mortalis esse desiit
Anno Salutis 1770,
Ætatis 72.

He left a widow and two children: Rogers Jortin, of Lincoln's Inn, in the profession of the law; and Martha, married to the Rev. Samuel Darby, late Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, and now Rector of Whatfield in Suffolk.

Besides his principal works, which have already been mentioned, and these Sermons and Charges, there are some things of a smaller kind: as Remarks upon Spencer's Poems, 1734, octavo, at the end of which are some Remarks upon Milton; Remarks on L. Annæus Seneca, printed in The Present State of the Republic of Letters, for August 1734; a Sermon preached at the Consecration of Pearce, Bishop of Bangor, in 1747; a few Remarks on Tillotson's Sermons, given to his friend Dr. Birch, and printed in the Appendix to Birch's Life of that Prelate, in 1752; Letter to Avison, concerning the Music of the Antients, subjoined to a second edition of Avison's Essay on Musical Expression, in 1753; and a few Remarks on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole, printed in an Appendix to Neve's Animadversions upon that history, 1766.

Besides great integrity, great humanity, and other qualities which make men amiable as well as useful, this learned and excellent person was of a very pleasant and facetious turn, as his writings abundantly show. He had nevertheless great sensibility, and could express himself with warmth, and even some degree of indignation, when he thought the occasion warranted him so to do. For instance, he had a great respect and fondness for critical learning, which he so much cultivated; and though he knew and allowed it to have been disgraced by the manners of certain proud, fastidious, and insolent critics, such as Scaliger, Salmasius, Scioppius, &c., yet he thought the restoration of letters, and the civilization of Europe, so much indebted to it, that he could ill bear to see it contemptuously treated; and to this may be imputed the little satirical strokes which sometimes occur in his works, against those that did so contemptuously treat it.

For the motto of his Life of Erasmus, he chose some words of Erasmus himself: *Illud certe præsagio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam posteritatem, tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.* Yet it is certain that he had very slight notions of posthumous fame or glory, and of any real good which could arise from it; as appears from what he had collected and written about it in a note on Milton, at the end of his Remarks upon Spencer. He could sometimes complain, and doubtless with good reason, of the low estimation into which learning was fallen; and thought it discountenanced and discouraged, indirectly at least, when ignorant and worthless persons were advanced to high stations and great preferments, while men of merit and abilities were

overlooked and neglected. Nevertheless, he laid no undue stress upon such stations and such preferments; but entertained just notions concerning what must ever constitute the chief good and happiness of man, and is himself believed to have made the most of them.

'Where,' says he in his Adversaria, 'where is happiness to be found? where is her dwelling-place? Not where we seek her, and where we expect to find her. Happiness is a modest recluse, who seldom shows her lovely face in the polite or in the busy world. She is the sister and companion of religious Wisdom. Among the vanities and the evils which Solomon beheld under the sun, one is, an access of temporal fortunes, to the detriment of the possessor: whence it appears, that such prosperity is a dangerous thing, and that few persons have a head strong enough, and a heart good enough, to bear it. A sudden rise from a low station, as it sometimes shows to advantage the virtuous and amiable qualities which could not exert themselves before, so it more frequently calls forth and exposes to view those spots of the soul, which lay lurking in secret, cramped by penury, and veiled with dissimulation. An honest and sensible man is placed in a middle station, in circumstances rather scanty than abounding. He hath all the necessaries, but none of the superfluities of life; and these necessaries he acquires by his prudence, his studies, and his industry. If he seek to better his income, it is by such methods as hurt neither his conscience nor his constitution. He hath friends and acquaintances of his own rank: he receives good offices from them, and he returns the same: as he hath his occupations, he hath his diversions also; and partakes of the simple,

frugal, obvious, innocent, and cheerful amusements of life. By a sudden turn of things, he grows great, in the church, or in the state. Now his fortune is made; and he says to himself, The days of scarcity are past, the days of plenty are come, and happiness is come along with them. Mistaken man! it is no such thing: he never more enjoys one happy day, compared with those which once shone upon him. He discards his old companions, or treats them with cold, distant, and proud civility. Friendship, free and open conversation, rational inquiry, sincerity, contentment, and the plain, unadulterated pleasures of life, are no more: they departed from him along with his poverty. New connections, new prospects, new desires, and new cares take place, and engross so much of his time and of his thoughts, that he neither improves his heart nor his understanding. He lives ambitious and restless, and he dies—rich.'

The preceding account, which was first published in the Biographical Dictionary, octavo, 1784, and afterwards prefixed to Dr. JORTIN'S Sermons, might well indeed have precluded any other; yet it is presumed that the following particulars may not be found unacceptable, as standing in connection with the plan of his ingenious biographer.

'My father Renatus,' says Dr. Jortin, 'was born in Bretagne in France, and studied at Saumur. I have his testimonial from that Academy, dated A. 1682. He came over, a young man, to England, with his father, mother, uncle, two aunts and two

sisters, at the time when the Protestants fled from France, about A. 1687. He was made one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, in the third year of King William, A. 1691, by the name of *Renatus Jortin*. I have his Patent. After this, and before I was born, he took a fancy to change his name into JORDAIN, and to give it an English appearance; being fond, I suppose, of passing for an Englishman, as he spoke English perfectly, and without any foreign accent. This gave me some trouble afterwards, when I went into Deacon's orders under Bishop Kennet; for the register of St. Giles in the Fields wrote my name, as it stood there, Jordain. I gave the bishop an account how it came to pass. After my father's death, my mother thought it proper to assume the true name of Jortin; and she and I always wrote it so. My father was secretary to Lord Orford, to Sir George Rook, and to Sir Cloudesly Shovel; and was cast away with the latter, October 22, 1707.

'I did not think there was any person left of our name, till lately[a] I found in a newspaper, that a merchantman came to one of our ports, commanded by a Captain Jortin, from the West Indies.'

'I have twice perused Bacon's ingenious History of Life and Death. It recommends abundance of things to be taken, and a variety of rules to be observed, with a view to make life healthy and long. But of these prescriptions many are too dear,

[a] Most probably in the year 1770, as the above is the last entry found in the Author's Adversaria.

and almost all too troublesome; and a long life is not *tanti*. Few persons could procure all these *subsidia*: A Lord Chancellor, or a Lord Bishop, might;—a poor Parson could not afford a hundredth part of the expense. But, for their comfort, I will be bold to tell them, that they may fare as well without his regimen. As to myself, I never observed any of his rules, or any rules at all, except the general ones of regularity and temperance. I never had a strong constitution; and yet, thank God, I have had no bad state of health, and few acute disorders[b].'

'Archbishop Herring and I were of Jesus College in Cambridge: but he left it about the time when I was admitted, and went to another. Afterwards, when he was preacher at Lincoln's Inn, I knew him better, and visited him. He was at that time, and long before, very intimate with Mr. Say, his friend and mine, who lived in Ely House; and Mr. Say, to my knowledge, omitted no opportunity to recommend me to him. When he was Archbishop of York, he expected that a good living would lapse into his hands; and he told Mr. Say that he designed it for me. He was disappointed in his expectation; so was not I; for I had no inclination to go and dwell in the North of England. When Mr. Say died, he asked me, of his own accord, whether I should like to succeed him in the Queen's Library: I told him that nothing could be more acceptable to me; and he immediately used all his interest to procure it for me; but he could not

[b] Dr. Jortin lived to his seventy-second year; and died in his parish of Kensington, A. 1770.

obtain it. A person, who is not worth the naming, was preferred to me, by the solicitation of—it matters not who.

'The Archbishop afterwards assured me of his assistance towards procuring either the preachership or the mastership of the Charterhouse, where I had gone to school. This project also failed; not by his fault, but by the opposition of—it matters not who.

'In conjunction with Bishop Sherlock he likewise procured for me the preaching of Boyle's Lectures. He also offered me a living in the country, and (which I esteemed a singular favour) he gave me leave to decline it, without taking it amiss in the least; and said that he would endeavour to serve me in a way that should be more acceptable. He did so, and gave me a living in the city[c]. Afterwards he gave me a Doctor's degree. I thought it too late in life, as I told him, to go and take it at Cambridge, under a Professor, who, in point of academical standing, might have taken his first degree under me, when I was Moderator. I was willing to owe this favour to *him*, which I would not have asked or accepted from any other Archbishop.

'That some persons, besides Mr. Say, did recommend me to him, I know, and was obliged to them for it. But I must add, that on this occasion they did only σπένδοντα ὀτρύνειν,—*spur the free courser*; and that he would have done what he did without their interposition.'

Thus far from the Author's private papers. In the *Journal Britannique*, published at the Hague,

[c] St. Dunstan's in the East.

amongst many other notices taken of Dr. Jortin's different writings as they occurred in publication, the following is placed at the head of his Six Dissertations upon different Subjects;—a work[d], of whose merit the learned need no information.

'Ces Dissertations ont pour auteur un homme, qui se distingue également par ses connoissances et par ses vertus. Littérateur du premier ordre, il n'estime l'étude des Mots que ce qu'elle vaut, et qu'autant qu'elle conduit à la science des Choses. Versé dans la lecture des anciens Auteurs, et dans les recherches de l'Antiquité, il ne se fait point une gloire de décrier son siécle, et de donner une injuste préférence à ceux qui l'ont précédé. Consacré par état à l'instruction des hommes, il leur présente une Religion simple, et destinée à les rendre contens de la Vie, et préparés à la Mort. Plus jaloux de trouver le Vrai, que d'inventer du Neuf, il ne s'attache à aucun système; n'affecte point la singularité; promet rarement des démonstrations, et manque plus rarement encore à ses promesses. Modeste enfin, et modéré, il n'attache point la gloire à déprimer ceux qui courent la même carrière, ou qui pensent différemment de lui. A ces traits, que mon cœur a tracés, que la voix publique confirme, et qu'un Prélat universellement respecté des gens de lettres et des gens de bien a consacrés, il est peu de lecteurs, du moins dans notre Isle, qui ne reconnoissent Mr. le Docteur JORTIN[e].'

'The Author of these Dissertations is a man equally distinguished for science and virtue. Of the highest class in literature, his unstudied regard for *words* is solely proportioned to their consequence, as they stand in connection with his sub-

[d] In 8vo. printed for Whiston and White, London. 1755.

[e] See the Journal Brit. vol. xvii. Mois de Novembre et de Décembre 1755, page 373.

ject, and conduce to the knowledge of *things*. Perfectly familiarized to antient writers, and deep in the researches of antiquity, he never seeks to raise himself on the depression of the times in which he lives, by giving an undue preference to those which have gone before him. His sacred profession naturally disposed him to consult the instruction of others; and to effect this, he presents to them a religion, simple in its appearance, and calculated to render them happy in existence here, and prepared for their great change. He is more solicitous to investigate truth than to fabricate novelty; and, as being unshackled by any system, he aims not at singularity, seldom leads you to expect a demonstration, and, when he does, is sure to fulfil his engagements. In disposition equally modest and temperate, he does not make it his boast to depreciate either those who run with him in the same course, or those who think differently from him. From these outlines, dictated by my own heart, confirmed by the public voice, and sanctioned by a prelate of universal esteem amongst men of worth and letters, few readers, in Britain at least, can fail to anticipate the name of Doctor JORTIN.'

Such were the sentiments of a learned foreigner; and, to show that such are the sentiments of our own countrymen, the following extracts are adduced:

In the Preface to Dr. Newton's edition of Milton's Poems, first published in 1749, we find that amiable editor expressing the assistance which he had received from our Author, amongst many others, in the course of that elaborate work. 'I

am obliged too to Mr. JORTIN for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce [afterwards Bishop of Rochester]. They are chiefly upon Milton's Imitations of the Antients: but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity; as appears from his Lusus Poetici, his Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, and his Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion.'

In the third volume, Preface to Paradise Regained, &c. he says, 'The notes, as upon the Paradise Lost, so likewise upon the Paradise Regained and other Poems, are of various authors, and of various kinds: but these, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them; as well as some names of the first rank and greatest eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my assertion will be fully justified, by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin; who, while they are employed in writing the most learned and elaborate defences of religion, yet find leisure to cultivate the politer arts; and to promote and improve, both in themselves and others, a classical taste of the finest authors. And, whatever may be the success, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me so many convincing proofs of their friendship and kindness; and at the same time hath happily conjoined,—what perhaps might never else have been joined together,—*my* studies, and my name, with *theirs*.'

The editor apprehends he cannot do a more acceptable service to the reader than by subjoining Dr. JORTIN's character, as it is admirably drawn in a late anonymous publication:

'As to Doctor JORTIN, whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment, or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry: he was ingenious, without the affectation of singularity: he was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism; and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school-boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could at will scatter upon every subject; and in every book the *writer* presents us with a near and distinct view of the *real man*:

——Ut omnis
Votivâ pateat tanquam descripta Tabellâ
Vita senis.

HOR. Sat. I. Lib. II. ver. 32.

'His *style*, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated; though familiar, it is never mean; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either of solemnity, from fanatical cant; of profoundness, from scholastic jargon; of precision, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologists; or of refinement, from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

'At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, JORTIN never grasped. Truth, which

some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise, in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path: and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he at least secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind which neither prepossession had seduced nor malevolence polluted. He imposed not his own conjectures as infallible and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles by dogmatical vehemence. He could support his more serious opinions without the versatility of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon. More than this, he could relinquish or correct them with the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded something to the arguments of his antagonists, was conscious of retaining enough to command their respect. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dullness; and too much candour to insult, where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he was yet exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary; and endure an equal, with, or without, the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice but with delicacy: and there-

fore, he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austerely. But invective he neither provoked nor feared; and as to the severities of contempt, he reserved them for occasions where alone they could be employed with propriety; and where, by himself, they were always employed with effect; for the chastisement of arrogant dunces, of censorious sciolists, of intolerant bigots in every sect, and unprincipled impostors in every profession[f]!'

Nor have such been the sentiments of those only who fully coincided with our author in matters of speculation, or in points of doctrine. The late Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne, so well known for his Confessional, hath treated with an equal degree of respect the memory of Dr. JORTIN. He speaks of him as a writer of far superior abilities; as a worthy preacher, a great and good man;—'one who was completely qualified to do justice to any subject he undertook to handle, and to whose remains a kind of veneration is due;'—'one who had incomparably the art to recommend a hundred things to our serious attention, which a confident paradoxical adventurer would make perfectly ridiculous.'—And, after paying a very liberal tribute of acknowledgment to him, as a man of innate candour, modesty, and diffidence,—'Would to God,' he concludes, 'I had the talents to perpetuate the rest of his excellencies to the latest posterity! But—he rests from his labours, and heareth not the voice of the oppressor, nor of the petulant scorner. His works will sufficiently speak for him while there are any remnants of piety, learning, and good sense among the sons of Britain; and will follow him to those man-

[f] See Tracts, by Warburton, and a Warburtonian, &c. printed for Charles Dilly, 1789, p. 194.

sions, where neither envy, malevolence, nor the dogmatical arrogance of ignorant supercilious criticism will deprive him of his reward.

'Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ,
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt[s].'

To testimonies like these, at once so very respectable, and so ably expressed, even filial piety can hardly suggest an addition. Their veracity has been felt, and will be acknowledged by the best judges of literary ability. The heart of the grateful Editor is much flattered by them. He ranks it among his truest honours to have this further occasion of announcing them to the judicious reader, as a last parting tribute to parental worth.

London, 1789. ROGERS JORTIN.

[s] See Historical View of the Controversy concerning an Intermediate State, &c. Second edition, pp. 268. 289. 296.

DISCOURSES

CONCERNING

THE TRUTH

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

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PREFACE.

THERE is a system relating to religion, and to the state of things, which is certainly true, whether we believe it or not. It greatly concerns us to have right notions about it, and to provide, as far as we can, for our future well-being, if this life should be the passage to another.

To show that there is sufficient evidence of the truth of christianity, to illustrate some parts of it, and to defend it against some objections, is the design of the following Discourses; to which before I dismiss the reader, I beg leave to detain him a few minutes, whilst I make an apology for this undertaking against an obvious objection.

Many are the books already extant upon the subject. Fabricius has reckoned up some hundreds, and doubtless several treatises might be added which have escaped even his diligence. What occasion is there for any more, in a country which has produced so many excellent writers in the cause, and where learned persons are continually appointed to discourse professedly upon it?

As to the number of treatises, it may be replied, that some of them are become very scarce, and others are fallen into oblivion; for which reason an author may be permitted to step in and take a place made vacant by one who is now gone to

rest[a]. And though it be presumption to think of equalling the great men who have laboured before us, and whose reputation is established, yet since there are many who had rather peruse a new book than a good book[b], their humour should not be totally disregarded.

The same truths may be placed in various views; and amongst men whose taste and fancy differ so widely, an argument shall seem persuasive, and a remark pertinent, to one, which by another is slighted and rejected. It seems therefore convenient that several persons should try their skill, and propose their thoughts upon a matter of such importance, since every one may reasonably hope to gain over, or confirm, or secure some reader of a corresponding turn of mind. Even the weakest contriver of a foolish and forlorn system must be very unlucky, if he finds not a few approvers and followers: he possesses at least a quality somewhat like electricity, which attracts chaff and straws; and what the old Greek poet observed in his days is as true now;

Ὡς ἀιεῖ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει Θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

——— Some overruling pow'r
Ever delights to couple like to like.

The understandings of men are as the chords of musical instruments: when a string sounds, the strings which are unisons to it, if within proper distance, will vibrate.

[a] Nunc placida compostus pace quiescit.

[b] Τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,
Ἥτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.
HOMER. Odyss. A. 351.

None then ought to be discouraged, though his abilities be no more than common, from appearing in defence of truths in which all are interested. Invention, Wit, Sagacity, Eloquence, when they offer their service on this occasion, merit a kind reception. Behind these follows modest and slow-paced Industry, willing to take the lowest place, and yet sometimes more useful than some of the former, and verifying the proverb, 'Claudus viator omnia refert certiora,' A lame traveller brings the best intelligence.

If, amidst some imperfections, an argument, which is not new, be set in a new light; if an objection be removed; if a sentiment be so expressed as to leave a good effect upon the mind; if an ingenious, or useful, or remarkable passage, not commonly known, be produced from an antient writer; if somewhat be suggested worthy of consideration, and the reader be put upon thinking, and the author perform the humble office of an index which points out the roads to the passenger, the work ought not to be treated with contempt.

Shall I add yet further, that such persons deserve something beyond a bare permission to utter their thoughts? When the intention seems upright, and the end proposed is to make men better and wiser, what is not ill executed should be received with approbation, with good words and good wishes, and small faults and inadvertencies should be candidly excused. Much more than this it may be vanity or folly to expect.

And here I thought to have concluded; but these words of Grotius come so often into my mind, that I cannot forbear to cite them. 'Lap-

sum Origenem in quibusdam rebus negari non potest. Quale mihi nequid eveniat, Deum supplex precor, soleoque scriptis meis hanc addere cautionem, ut si quid ibi sit alienum dogma [a veritate et sacris literis] id pro non scripto habeatur.'

In this I would willingly join with Grotius. Whosoever is in the disposition which he describes, takes the best way to secure himself from dangerous errors; and if he has any wrong notions, there is reason to hope that they proceed not from a bad mind, but are only the issues of unfortunate inquiry.

JOHN JORTIN.

DISCOURSES

CONCERNING THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

I.

THE PREJUDICES OF THE JEWS AND GENTILES.

WHEN we read over the history of Christ, and consider the variety of beneficial miracles which he wrought, and his mild and inoffensive behaviour, it must at first sight seem very strange that the Jews should reject him and put him to death; that they, who had so long expected and so greatly desired the coming of the Messias, should persecute and kill him when he appeared amongst them, and so well confirmed his right to the character which he assumed.

When we consider further how the apostles afterwards confirmed the truth of his resurrection, how many miracles they wrought, teaching the same holy doctrines as their master had taught, and imitating his good example, and how innocent and virtuous the behaviour of the first Christians was, it seems also strange that the Jewish nation should not have yielded to such evidence.

And though the apostles had great success in the heathen world, and brought over multitudes to the faith, yet it appears unaccountable that more of the Gentiles were not moved to receive the gospel by the miracles which they wrought in its behalf, and that few of the rich, of the great, and of the learned were at first converted.

We are inclined to think that if we had lived in those days, and seen what the Jews and Gentiles then saw, we should readily have embraced the gospel; and that if any person in our sight should heal all distempers, and remove all infirmities, and raise the dead, we should submit to any thing that he commanded, and receive any thing

that he taught, unless it were plainly absurd, and contrary to common sense. They who reject the gospel, object to the miracles recorded in it, that the bulk of the Jewish nation was not converted by them [a], and that in the pagan world the poorer and meaner sort of the people were chiefly the first proselytes to the Christian religion, and the learned and powerful for the most part stood out; till at length the Roman emperors became Christians, and what by force, what by example, brought their opinion into fashion, and established it in the world.

But whosoever shall well consider the many causes concurring to keep the Jews and Gentiles from embracing the gospel, will cease to judge it strange that so many of them persevered in their unbelief.

One great and general cause to which the infidelity of the Jews should be ascribed, is their wickedness; and that certainly is a cause sufficient to produce such an effect. If a man is vicious, he is disposed to reject evident truths, and to embrace ridiculous opinions. That vice weakens the understanding, infatuates the judgment, and hinders it from discerning between truth and falsehood, especially in matters of morality and religion, is affirmed constantly in scripture, is highly agreeable to reason, and perpetually testified by experience. That the Jews were then very wicked is plain from several passages of the New Testament, and Josephus [b] informs us of enormous villanies practised by many of them, of which no pagan nation was perhaps ever guilty.

'To give a particular account of all their iniquities [c], would be endless: thus much, in general, it may suffice to say, that there never was a city which suffered such miseries, or a race of men from the beginning of the world who so abounded in wickedness.

[a] See Limborch Collat. cum Judæo, p. 63, where the Jew uses this kind of argument.

[b] Vid. B. J. iv. v. vi. passim.

[c] Καὶ ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ἐπεξιέναι τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν, ἀδύνατον· συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν. Josephus, B. J. v. x. 5.

Οἶμαι Ῥωμαίων βραδυνόντων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους, ἢ καταποθῆναι ἂν ὑπὸ χάσματος, ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σοδομηνῆς μεταλαβεῖν κεραυνούς· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἔνεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν, v. xiii. 6. ed. Haverc.

'I verily believe, that if the Romans had delayed to destroy these wicked wretches, the city would either have been swallowed up by the earth, or overwhelmed by the waters, or struck with fire from heaven, as another Sodom; for it produced a far more impious generation than those who suffered such punishment.'

Suppose a man sensual and debauched, proud and conceited, uncharitable and malicious, unjust and worldly-minded; suppose him not to have been educated in gross ignorance of his duty, but to have had sufficient opportunities of acquiring some degrees of sacred knowledge, and by his evil disposition to have been led either to disbelieve plain truths, or to continue in sin against the dictates of his own conscience, or to find out some ways of reconciling his religion with his vices; suppose such an one hath the gospel preached to him by an apostle, and confirmed by signs and wonders, there is no reason to conclude that he will receive it, that he will submit to a religion which is attended with many temporal inconveniences, and which upon all accounts he despises and hates; that he will alter his whole course of life, and become a poor and persecuted disciple of Christ, and enter into his church.

'If any one[d],' says Origen, 'will candidly consider us Christians, we can produce him more who have been converted from a life not the worst, than from a very wicked course. For they whose conscience speaks favourably in their behalf, are disposed to wish that our doctrine concerning the future rewards of goodness may be true; and so are more ready to assent to the gospel than profligate men.'

I know, it may be said, that among the first Christians there were several who had led bad lives before; but there are many degrees in wickedness, and there is no reason to suppose that these sinners were for the most part of the

[d] Ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἴτις καταγνοήσαι ἡμῶν εὐγνωμόνως τὸ ἄθροισμα, πλείονας ἔχομεν παραστῆσαι τοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ χαλεποῦ πάνυ βίου ἢπερ τοὺς ἀπὸ ἐξωλεστάτων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπιστρέψαντας. καὶ γὰρ πεφύκασιν οἱ τὰ κρείττονα ἑαυτοῖς συνεγνωκότες, εὐχομενοι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ κηρυσσόμενα περὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἀμοιβῆς, ἑτοιμότερον συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις, παρὰ τοὺς πάνυ μοχθηρῶς βεβιωκότας. Contr. Cels. iii. p. 150.

worst sort: and though some persons who have been very wicked may become very good, and such were found amongst the first Christians, yet where the exceptions are few, the general observation is not affected by them; for thus much is certain, that an honest mind is a great help to understand the truth; that the practice of morality leads to the practice of christianity; and that, since conversion is brought about by steps, and revealed religion is founded on natural religion, he who is moved to embrace the gospel must be first sensible of the difference between good and evil, truth and falsehood, virtue and vice, must love the one and abhor the other, must repent of his former transgressions, and receive the sacred knowledge which is offered to him, with gratitude, and a firm resolution of performing his duty. He therefore who can call evil good, and good evil, who is totally corrupted in heart and understanding, is removed at an infinite distance from God and righteousness, has no ears to hear and no eyes to see, not even to see miracles, so as to be instructed and amended by them.

To this general cause the unbelief of the Jews may be ascribed, as also to several prejudices which they had against the person of Christ, and the doctrines of the gospel.

The Jews were offended at Christ, because he was not received and followed by those of the most learning and authority amongst them. 'Have any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees, believed on him?'

We may then suppose that a Jew who rejected the gospel would have argued thus: It becomes a private man not to lean too much to his own understanding, but to suppose that they who have studied the laws of God more than himself, and are appointed of God to be his instructors, are better judges in religious controversies than he can possibly be. Our spiritual guides are all of opinion that Jesus is not the Messias. It is therefore the most modest, rational, and safe way for me, who have not their leisure, learning, and abilities, to submit and trust to their decisions.

Here is a prejudice founded upon the doctrine that private persons, especially they who are ignorant and illiterate, should follow the judgment of the church, of their guides

and teachers. This doctrine hath something plausible in it, and, under certain limitations and restrictions, may be admitted.

The vulgar ought indeed to pay a great regard to their teachers, and are often under a necessity of admitting many things upon their authority; but then we must except things plain in their own nature[e]; in a word, every thing in which the reason of one man is as good a judge as the reason of another, in which a man knows that he wants no guide, and therefore should submit to none.

Every Jew in Jerusalem was as competent a judge of a miracle as the high priest; and, if he saw Christ raise a man from the dead, and perform a variety of wonderful works, might conclude with full assurance, and without any danger of mistaking, that God would never suffer a deceiver to do such works in his name, who taught nothing contrary to common sense.

In such a case as this, a Jew who submitted to the authority of the Scribes and Pharisees, of the chief priests and rulers, against plain evidence, absolutely renounced all use of reason; after which it would have been ridiculous in him to talk of the reasonableness of following his guides, the reasonableness of rejecting private judgment; for, what had such an one to do with reason[f]?

The Jews were offended at Christ, because he was not a temporal prince and a conqueror. They were all persuaded that the Messias should be a great king, under whom they should rule over the Gentiles, and live in wealth and pleasure.

When therefore they found that Christ was poor and despised, and died an ignominious death, and that his kingdom, as his apostles taught, was a spiritual kingdom established in the hearts of men, a kingdom not of this world, the cross of Christ proved a stumbling-block to them, and they were displeased at a doctrine that suited neither with their prejudices nor with their inclinations.

They had indeed several arguments to offer in behalf of this prejudice, which, though they are weak if they be

[e] See Whitby Serm. on John viii. 37. in his Comment. vol. 1.
[f] See Wollaston Rel. of Nat. sect. iii. p. 49. first ed.

compared with the superior evidences of the truth of the gospel, yet have a fair appearance when they are considered by themselves, and therefore deserve to be answered.

1. In the first place, as their law contained several promises to the obedient, and those promises were temporal, it was not to be thought strange that the Jews should have accounted prosperity a mark of God's favour, and adversity of his displeasure. This laid a foundation for a prejudice against Christ and his apostles.

2. Almost all the great and good men recorded in the scriptures, whom God had raised up from time to time to be their princes and leaders, were miraculously blessed with success in their undertakings. The Jews therefore expected that the Messias, when he appeared, ſhould surpass Moses, and Joshua, and David, and the Maccabees, and other of their victorious kings and leaders, as much in splendour and felicity as in dignity and authority.

3. To confirm them in this expectation, there were several prophecies applied by all the Jews to the Messias, which represent him as a powerful prince, who should save and protect his people, and overcome his enemies, and which speak in magnificent terms of the peace and prosperity of his happy reign.

But it is easy to show that these objections against our Saviour were not sufficient to excuse their unbelief.

For, though the law promised temporal blessings to the good, yet the Jews knew by long experience that those promises had not been fulfilled at all times, and to all persons. Extraordinary interpositions in behalf of the righteous were grown less frequent; which was an intimation of a future state, and an argument by which it might be proved. The Jews therefore had no reason to judge of the characters and merits of men by their station and circumstances in this life, or to imagine that fortunate and virtuous were the same thing.

They might have found examples of good men who had undergone much trouble, and had received here below no reward of their obedience.

They might have learned from the prophets that the Messias, to whom so much power and prosperity and

splendour was promised, was also to be a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief[g], and that his soul was to be an offering for sin; and they might have seen, in the sufferings of Christ, and in his resurrection, the accomplishment of these seemingly irreconcileable predictions.

Lastly; if some particular prophecies concerning the reign of the Messias appeared to them unfulfilled, they ought not upon that account to have rejected Christ: they should have rested satisfied with the various proofs which he gave them of his divine power, and have concluded, either that they did not understand the true sense of those prophecies, or that the time of their completion was not yet come.

They were offended at him, because, as they said, he profaned the sabbath-day, that is, did not observe it according to their superstitious manner.

But Christ, as the great prophet, and a worker of miracles, according to the example of other prophets, and according to the decisions of the Jews themselves, had a power of setting aside the ceremonial rest of the sabbath, or any other ritual law. Thus Joshua commanded that the ark of God should be carried round Jericho, the armed men going before and after it, seven days together, one of which must have been a sabbath: thus Elijah and Elisha touched and handled dead bodies, to restore them to life, and did not account themselves legally unclean; thus Samuel and Elijah offered sacrifices, though neither of them were priests, and in places where, as some think, sacrifices could not be offered according to the law. In a word, it appears that many ceremonial laws were at certain times generally disused, and not observed by very good men[h].

They were offended, some of them at least, because he did not live in a way more austere, and in their opinion

[g] Some of them seem to have known and believed it. See Whitby on Ephes. i. 4.

[h] J. Hales Sermon on John xviii. 36. p. 160. Le Clerc on 1 Sam. vii. 17. Grotius on Luke vii. 14. It is certain that the sabbatic years and the jubilees were greatly neglected by the Jews, as probably were many other ceremonial laws. Yet we learn from Josephus i. p. 657 and 741. ed. Haverc. that in the days of Herod the Great, and some time at least before, the sabbatic years were observed. See Prideaux in the Pref. to his Connect., who has not taken notice of this.

more becoming the dignity which he assumed; because he condescended to converse with people of bad reputation, with publicans and sinners.

Some were offended at him, because, said they, we know whence he is; but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is[i].

Some were offended, because he was not of Bethlehem, where it was foretold that the Messias should be born. A little inquiry would have set them right, if they had taken any pains to find out the truth.

They were offended at him because he had dwelt in Galilee, out of which place no prophet could ever arise, as they foolishly supposed.

Christ had dwelt at Nazareth till he entered into his office; his relations dwelt there; the inhabitants of that place were acquainted with his person, and remembered his education; they knew that he had had no opportunity of acquiring the learning which could qualify him to be a teacher. When they heard the force and the wisdom with which he spake, and were informed of his mighty works, and saw some of them, they were astonished, and yet they could not pay him a due respect; they slighted him[k], because they knew him, and the poverty of his family, and the obscurity in which he had lived amongst them; and having long viewed him as their equal, they could not submit to show him the veneration due to a prophet. It is very likely that some envy was mixed with their prejudice. 'Whence,' said they, 'hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works?' Whence could he have his power of working miracles, unless from God? and whence could he have his wisdom, unless from him also? They, of all people, should have been the readiest to believe in him, because, knowing well that he had been deprived of the ordinary means of receiving instruction, and of acquiring the know-

[i] See the Comment. on John vii. 27.

[k] So the Ægyptians at first despised their king Amasis, on account of his extraction and former condition; τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμίῃ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγον, ἅτε δὴ δημότην τοπρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος. Inter initia quidem Amasin Ægyptii contemsere, nec ullius sane momenti duxerunt, ut qui plebeius paulo ante fuisset, nec insigni familia ortus. Herodot. ii. 172. p. 155.

ledge which appeared in all that he spake, they had a clear evidence that it must have been a supernatural gift.

They were offended at him, because in his discourses to them he sometimes gave them hints that he was a much greater person than they imagined; upon which they called him a blasphemer, who made himself God, and equal with God, that is, who assumed to himself divine honours, and more respect than was due to a prophet; for the Jews had no notion that their Messias should be any thing more than mere man [l].

The Jews, as it appears from Justin's dialogue with Trypho, objected to the Christians, that they worshipped more gods than one, and ascribed divine perfections to Christ.

To this Justin [m], and other Christians, answered, that frequent mention is made in the Old Testament of a person, who is called God, and is God [n], and yet is distinguished from the God and Father of all.

Besides; Philo [o] and several of their own writers taught something so like the Christian doctrine concerning the Son and the Spirit of God, that the Jews, if they condemned the gospel upon that account, condemned themselves.

We read in the scriptures that God is no object of our senses, that he hath no body or form, that he is the invisible God, whom no man hath seen or can see; and in many of the manifestations which God made of himself, nothing appeared, except a glorious light, a cloud and fire, or else only a voice was heard; but in other places it is said that God himself appeared. To reconcile this, the antient Christian writers generally agree, and their consent ought not to be slighted, that the person who appeared [p] at different

[l] Whitb. on Rom. ix. 5. and Justin M. p. 235.

[m] See the index to Thirlby's Justin, *Christus*.

[n] Θεὸς καλεῖται, καὶ Θεός ἐστι καὶ ἔσται. Justin, p. 261. Trypho says again to Justin, It is written, 'I am the Lord,—my glory I will not give to another.' This objection Justin answers, by observing, that God speaks in opposition to false gods and idols, and not to his Word and his Son.

[o] Grotius de Ver. R. C. v. 21. Vitringa on Isai. vol. ii. p. 458. not. Le Clerc on John i. Fabric. de Ver. R. C. p. 132.

[p] See Bull, Defens. Fid. Nic. Clarke Repl. to Nels. p. 161. and Serm. 5. vol. 1. Whitby on John i. 1 Cor. x. 9. Philipp. ii. 6. Col. i. 15.

times to Adam, to Abraham, to Moses, to the elders of Israel, to the patriarchs and prophets, and to other good men, who would not tell his name to Jacob and to Manoah, when they asked him who he was, who is called both God and the angel of God, that this person was the Word of God, the Son of God, who was in the form of God, who was the visible image of the invisible God, representing the majesty of his Father, and acting in his name.

The angel who appeared to Manoah [q] said to him, 'Why askest thou after my name, seeing it is secret, or wonderful?' If we compare this with Isaiah ix. 6. it is there said of the Messiah, 'His name shall be called Wonderful.' If we compare it with Rev. xix. 12. it is there said of Christ, 'He had a name written which none knew but he himself.'

Concerning this angel Isaiah [r] thus speaks, celebrating God's loving-kindness to the children of Israel in antient times: 'The angel of God's presence saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them and carried them all the days of old.'

These great things are here ascribed to the angel of God's presence, or, of his face; which if we compare with the history of those transactions, as related by Moses, we find that God almighty manifested himself to Moses by an angel. 'The angel of the Lord appeared to him in the bush, and said, I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;' and afterwards, 'I am that I am, I am the Lord Jehovah.' We find that this angel went before his people in a cloud: and afterwards, representing the person of almighty God, and speaking in his name, he says, 'Behold, I send my angel before thee—beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke

Vitringa on Isai. lxiii. 9, 10. p. 249. and on Zech. i. 11, 12. p. 131. concerning the angel who intercedes with God for the Jews.

Some think that where the angel of the Lord is mentioned, no other is meant than one of those ministering spirits, who sometimes represented the person of God, acted in his stead, and spake in his name; and then, say they, whatever honour and adoration might be seemingly paid to him, was really paid to God, to whom it was designed, and whom the angel personated. See Le Clerc in Indice ad Pentat. *Angelus*, and the commentators on Heb. ii. 2. and 5. and Clemens Alex. Strom. v. 1. p. 648. edit. Ox.

[q] Judg. xiii. 18. See Vitringa on Isai. ix. 5, 6.

[r] lxiii. 9. Where see Vitringa.

him not: for he will not pardon your transgressions; for my name is in him.'

Concerning this angel Jacob thus speaks, when he blesses the children of Joseph: 'The God who fed me all my life long unto this day, the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads!' And Moses prays that the posterity of Joseph may enjoy the favour 'of him,' of the angel, 'who dwelt in the bush.'

Concerning this angel Zechariah thus speaks, xii. 8. 'In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.' The sentence rises in such a manner, that it cannot be supposed to sink at last; whence it is reasonable to conclude that the same person is here called God, and the angel of the Lord.

Lastly, concerning the same angel Malachi says, 'The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the angel,' or messenger, 'of the covenant.'

This mighty angel, the saviour, redeemer, intercessor, and protector, seems to be no common or created angel, but that angel in whom the name of God was, and by whom God speaks to mankind, and who on that account is called the Word of God, who was in the beginning with God, and who was God, by whom all things were created, and who afterwards became man and dwelt with us.

The Jews had many prejudices against the person of Christ; they had as many, or rather more, against his doctrine.

The religion of the gospel is spiritual: the religion of the Jews, as they made it, was carnal. The gospel places morality above rites and ceremonies: the Jews preferred, in their practice at least, the ritual law to the moral.

The gospel represents the law of ceremonies as a temporary institution, which drew towards its end after the coming of John the Baptist: the Jews thought that the whole law was everlasting, and of perpetual obligation. They believed that they could perform as much of it as would be sufficient to secure the favour of God; they there-

fore rejected new doctrines and means of salvation, as false, or useless and unnecessary.

Of all their mistakes and prejudices, their too great zeal for the law seems to have been the most excusable: it arose partly from a high veneration for commandments, which were undoubtedly of divine appointment, and a good man might have fallen into it. Therefore the apostles used great lenity and condescension towards the Jews in this particular, and suffered them to observe the ritual law along with the gospel, which they did for a considerable time, till, Jerusalem being destroyed, no small part of the ceremonial law became impracticable, and by slow degrees the whole fell into disuse[s].

The Jews accounted Moses to have been the greatest of all the prophets: the gospel taught them that John the Baptist was a prophet greater than all who had been before him, yet in every respect infinitely inferior to Christ, and not equal to the least of Christ's disciples in dignity of office.

The Jews not only avoided, as much as they could, all intercourse with the Gentiles, which indeed their own law required of them in many cases, but had them generally in abomination, not for their vices, but because they observed not the law of Moses: the gospel commanded them to love all men, though they were not Jews either by birth or by religion, and not to shun them as unfit for conversation, unless they were scandalous by impiety or immorality.

The gospel condemned, not only evil actions, but evil inclinations and thoughts: the Jews, if we may judge of them by the sentiments of some of their own writers, were of opinion that there was no harm in bad designs, unless they were put in execution.

Josephus says, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confessed that he suffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, 'I wonder how Polybius could say that Antiochus perished because he

[s] Sulpitius Severus, l. ii. Eusebius, E. H. iv. 6. Origen contr. Cels. ii. p. 56.

had purposed to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; for to intend the thing only, and not to perform it, is not worthy of punishment[t].'

The story of Glaucus is remarkable; who being esteemed a man of singular probity, and having a large sum of money deposited in his hands, and an opportunity of keeping it from the owners, if he would forswear himself, consulted the oracle at Delphi what he should do. 'When[u] he had proposed his question, the priestess of Apollo answered thus:

'If present profit claim thy chief regard,
Be bold, and swear, and take the obvious prize:
Just dealing cannot save thee from the grave.
But the oath's guardian hath a nameless son,
Who swift and strong, tho' without hand or foot,
Pursues, o'ertakes, and seizes, and destroys
The whole devoted race; whilst honest men
Leave lasting blessings to their children's children.

'Glaucus hearing this entreated the god to forgive him what he had said. The priestess replied; To tempt the god, and to commit the action, is all one. Glaucus however sent to recall his Milesian guests, and delivered them the money. At present there remains no house or progeny of Glaucus, but it is rooted out from Sparta.'

[t] Ὥστε θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, ὃς, ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ, ἀποθανεῖν λέγει τὸν Ἀντίοχον, βουληθέντα τὸ τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συλῆσαι τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον, οὐκ ἔστι τιμωρίας ἄξιον. Ant. xii. 9.

See Selden de Synedr. ii. 13. § 7. Hammond on Rom. vii. 7. Grævius on Cicero de Offic. i. 4. and Grotius on Exod. xx. 17. who observes that the wiser pagans had much better notions.

[u] Ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήσεται, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω,
Ὅρκῳ νικῆσαι, καὶ χρήματα λήσασθαι·
Ὄμνυ· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
Ἀλλ' ὅρκου παῖς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἐπι χεῖρες,
Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσόκε πᾶσαν
Συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα·
Ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν Θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν ἕνεκα τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη, Τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, ἴσον δύναται.—Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους, ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπογονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν, οὔτε

Compare the words of the oracle, concerning the son of the deity who presides over oaths, with Zechar. v. i. 'I looked, and behold, a flying roll. Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth,—and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name; and shall remain in the midst of his house; and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof [x].'

The gospel required purity of heart: the Jews had slight notions of this duty, and placed purity in bodily and ritual purifications.

The gospel promised eternal happiness to those who would lead religious lives, and to impenitent sinners denounced the most dreadful punishments: the Jews thought that no Israelite should be deprived of future happiness, whatsoever his faults had been, unless he were guilty of apostasy, idolatry, and a few other crimes which they specified [y].

The school of Elias used to say, that whosoever learned

ἐστίη οὐδεμίη νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου· ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόῤῥιζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. Herodot. vi. p. 359. ed. Gron. See the same story related by Juvenal, xiii. 199. Cicero de Offic. iii. 8. seems to allude to it.

[x] The likeness between these two places is observed by Grotius. The last verse of the oracle is to be found in Hesiod Ἔργ. 285: and the sense, though not the words, of the foregoing lines, 282, &c.

Ὃς δέ κε μαρτυρίῃσιν ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσας
Ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ δίκην βλάψας, νήκεστον ἀάσθη,
Τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται·
Ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

Maimonides indeed, and some others, learned to talk in a better manner on this subject, and more conformably to christian morality. See Huet. Alnet. Quæst. p. 343.

But though evil intentions are faults, yet, as to human laws, Ulpian's determination seems, generally speaking, to be just: 'Cogitationis pœnam nemo patitur.' Digest. l. xlviii. tit. xix. 18. where see the notes.

[y] Ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὅτι πάντως τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σπορᾶς τῆς κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ οὖσι, κἂν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὦσι καὶ ἄπιστοι καὶ ἀπειθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, ἡ βασίλεια ἡ αἰώνιος δοθήσεται. Existimantes eis omnino qui ex satu, secundum carnem, Abrahami sunt, quamvis peccatoribus, et infidelibus, et erga Deum immorigeris, regnum æternum datum iri. Justin. M. Dial. 433. ed. Thirl.

the traditions of the Misnah might be assured he should have eternal life[z].

Perhaps they did not carry this notion so far as to affirm that their wicked countrymen should receive no correction in a future state[a]; but probably they thought that God, who in their opinion was a respecter of persons, would be gracious to these unworthy children of Abraham, that their punishment should last a certain time, and that then they should enter into a state of happiness; which favour should not be extended to the Gentiles, for whom God had no regard.

Many Mahommedan doctors are much in the same way of thinking, and teach that believers shall all enter into a state of happiness after the resurrection, some immediately, others after certain punishments; but that infidels shall be consigned over to eternal misery[b].

The gospel gave the Jews no hopes that they should subdue their enemies, and become a free and independent nation: the Jews were very factious and seditious, and had an intemperate love of liberty, at a time and in circumstances when it was not to be obtained.

Their turbulent temper may be known from the 'Jus Zelotarum,' or privilege, under the pretence of zeal, to dispatch an offender without the tedious formality of a trial; concerning which licentiousness Philo says, injudiciously enough, 'This also is right, that all who have a zeal for virtue are allowed to execute rigorous punishment without delay, neither carrying the offender to the courts of judicature, nor to any magistrate, but indulging that ardour which the hatred of iniquity and the love of God excites, to the end that the impious may never escape vengeance; and accounting themselves, by the exigence

[z] See Grotius on Matt. x. 28. xiv. 2. James ii. 14. Whitby on Acts i. 25. Rom. ii. 13. James ii. 11. and p. 466, 467. vol. 2. of the 6th edit.

[a] See Le Clerc. Quæst. Hieron. p. 287. Whitby on Acts xi. 18. xv. 1. Rom. ii. 13. 1 Cor. i. 28. 2 Cor. xi. 20. Huet. Alnet. Quæst. p. 297. Windet. de Vitâ funct. statu, p. 70. 4to edit. Sale's Notes on the Koran, p. 11.

[b] See Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. and Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. p. 92.

of the time, to be made all things,—senators, judges, generals, assemblies, accusers, witnesses, laws, and people,—that so nothing may hinder them from exerting themselves boldly and jointly for righteousness[c].'

The love of God and of virtue and of truth is no such turbulent and boisterous passion; and pious zeal may be active, and yet not pernicious, and shine without burning[d].

The gospel called the Jews to sufferings and persecution, and had at that time a very unpromising aspect as to this world. A converted Jew could expect nothing besides ill usage from his countrymen, who were very zealous for their religion: and if he were the only one of his family who received Christianity, he might be sure that his worst enemies would be his nearest relations, and his most inveterate foes those of his own household. It required no small virtue and resolution to offer up such a sacrifice to God, to forsake house and land, friends and kindred, father and mother, wife and children, for the sake of Christ.

The Jews were accustomed to indulge themselves without restraint in those things which the law allowed, in condescension to their imperfections, and to prevent greater

[c] Καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι δὲ καλὸν ἅπασι τοῖς ζῆλον ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς, ἐκ χειρὸς ἀναπράττειν ἀνυπερθέτως τὰς τιμωρίας, μήτ' εἰς δικαστήριον, μήτ' εἰς βουλευτήριον, μήτε συνόλως ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παραστάντι μισοπονήρῳ πάθει καὶ φιλοθέῳ καταχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπαραιτήτους κολάσεις, νομίσαντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ καιροῦ τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, βουλευτὰς, δικαστὰς, στρατηγοὺς, ἐκκλησιαστὰς, κατηγόρους, μάρτυρας, νόμους, δῆμον, ἵνα μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδὼν, ἄφοβοι συνόδῳ πολλῇ προαγωνίζωνται ὁσιότητος. De Monarch. i. p. 818: ed. Par. 1640.

[d] Intemperate zeal is like 'Sirius' in Homer:

Λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅγ' ἐστὶ, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
Καὶ τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

Ille quidem clarâ, sed sævâ luce coruscat,
Et morbos æstusque adfert mortalibus ægris.

IL. x. 30.

Pious zeal is like the 'gentle flame' in Virgil:

Ecce levis subito de vertice visus Iüli
Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.

ÆN. ii. 683.

evils[e]: here the gospel interposed with strict prohibitions, representing their custom of divorce, and of marrying again, as no better than adultery. The apostles themselves thought this, when they first heard it, to be an hard precept; and indeed in all parts of the world[f] where these practices have been established, nothing hath stopped the progress of christianity more than the prohibition of polygamy and divorce[g]; and many, who else seemed disposed to receive the gospel, have rejected it upon this only account.

Lastly, the Jews thought that the Christian morality was in general too strict and severe, and that no man could possibly practise it[h].

The chief priests, Scribes and Pharisees, besides all these prejudices already mentioned, had particular motives to reject the gospel.

They hated Christ, because he had reproved and openly exposed their pride, their hypocrisy, their uncharitableness, their covetousness, their zeal for traditions; and their hatred against him disposed them to think ill of him, and to do him all ill offices. We need not wonder, when we

[e] Whitby on John viii. 7.

[f] Bayle Dict. *Mahomet Galadin.* et Parrhasiana, ch. vii.

[g] Christ and the apostles have not perhaps directly, and in so many words, prohibited polygamy; but, from the reasoning of Christ against divorce, Christians have justly concluded polygamy to be unlawful. Of the evils arising from both, see Le Clerc Hist. Eccles. Proleg. p. 113, 161.

Polygamy was forbidden by the Roman laws. Digest. l. iii. tit. ii. 1. Cod. l. ix. tit. ix. 18. And afterwards Christian emperors would not permit it to any persons in their dominions. Cod. l. i. tit. ix. 7. l. v. tit. v. 2. Novell. xviii. 5. In what cases they allowed divorce may be seen Cod. l. v. tit. xvii. Novell. xxii. 15. cxvii. 8. 9. cxl. Moreover, 'Eo tempore, quo quis uxorem habet, concubinam habere non potest.' Julius Paulus Recept. Sentent. l. ii. tit. xx. et Cod. l. v. tit. xxvi. et Leonis Constit. xci.

[h] Trypho says to Justin, ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα θαυμαστὰ οὕτως καὶ μέγαλα ἐπίσταμαι εἶναι, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά. Vestra sane quæ in evangelio, quod dicitur, sunt præcepta tam magna et admiranda esse novimus, ut suspicio nostra sit a nemine ea servari posse.

So also says Orobius in his dispute with Limborch.

See Tillotson, vol. i. serm. 28. The Jews taught that a careful observance of some laws would excuse the violation of the rest. See Whitby on James ii. 11.

find them upon all occasions opposing and calumniating him, if we consider that they were a wicked set of men, and that he had publicly and frequently reproved them. They were highly incensed against him, and, in the judgment which they made of him, they were directed by their passions, not by their reason.

Nor did anger and resentment only furnish them with prejudices against Christ, but self-interest also, and worldly policy. The people, who had seen the miracles of Christ, particularly that miracle by which he had fed a great multitude, had at one time, as St. John relates, a design to make him their king,—concluding reasonably enough that under such a leader they should be victorious. Therefore Christ, if he had been a deceiver, and had entertained ambitious designs, might easily have made himself a prince, and might have incited the people to shake off the Roman yoke, which was grievous to them.

The chief priests and principal persons amongst the Jews thought, that if Christ should make such an attempt they should be ruined, whatsoever the consequence of it were. If the Jews, under his conduct, should endeavour to recover their liberties, and fail in it, they knew that the nation would be severely punished by the Romans. Nor was their prospect less bad, if Christ should deliver the people from their subjection to a foreign power, and rule over them himself; for though they hated the Romans, yet doubtless they thought that Christ would be a worse ruler for them than any Roman governor. They knew that he had a bad opinion of them, and that he had exposed their vices; and therefore they concluded that the establishment of his authority would be the ruin of theirs. Thus were they incited not only by resentment, but, as they fancied, by interest, to deny that Christ was the Messias, to oppose him, and to destroy him; for, since they were persuaded that the Messias should be a temporal king, they could not acknowledge Christ to be the Messias, unless at the same time they owned him to be their king.

They succeeded in their endeavours, they stirred up the people, they intimidated the governor, they prevailed to have Christ crucified; and by his death they thought themselves at last secure from all these evils. But he arose

again, and his disciples appeared openly in Jerusalem, working miracles, and teaching that Jesus was the Messias. One would at first think that no man could withstand such evidence; but we shall not so much wonder at their obstinacy, if we observe that their fears, and, as they thought, their interests, led them again to oppose the truth.

They considered that they were the persons who had represented Christ as a man who had lost his senses, a dæmoniac, an impostor, a magician, a violator of the law, a seditious teacher, a rebel, an enemy to Cæsar, and a false Messias; who had instigated the people, and who had persuaded Pilate to crucify him: they heard that the apostles wrought miracles in the name of Christ; and they concluded, that, if the apostles were permitted to proceed in this manner, they would convert a great part of the Jews; and they feared, that, if the doctrines taught by Christ's disciples were received, they, who had been his implacable enemies, should be accounted not only ignorant and blind guides, but dishonest men; that they should not only lose their credit and authority, but be exposed to the resentment of the incensed multitude: and therefore they thought, that the best way to secure themselves was to deter and hinder the apostles from appearing any more in public, and from preaching the gospel. And when the disciples continued to perform the functions of their ministry, the high priest asked them, saying, 'Did we not straightly command you that you should not teach in this name? And behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us!' Acts v. 28.

Miracles were wrought to convince them; but when a man is violently bent to believe or disbelieve, he is more than half persuaded that things are as he desires. They hastily concluded that those miracles were either delusions and impostures, or wonderful works performed by the aid of evil spirits.

From these ill dispositions proceeded suitable effects; for they persecuted the first Christians, they accused them to the Roman magistrates of sedition, they beat them in their synagogues, they imprisoned them, they banished them, they put many of them to death, and strove to the utmost of their power to destroy this rising sect. Some

antient writers assure us, that the Jews took the pains to send persons from Jerusalem into all countries, to accuse the Christians of atheism and other crimes, and to make them as odious as they possibly could [i].

From the account which we have given of the obstinacy of the Jews, and of the causes whence it arose, it appears that their unbelief is no objection to the truth of the gospel. The modern Jews, therefore, reason weakly when they say that their ancestors would not, and could not, have rejected Christ, if the miracles related in the gospel had been really wrought. Against this argument we may also observe, that it can do no service to a Jew, because it would prove too much. It would prove that Moses wrought no miracles, since the whole people of Israel often rebelled against him: it would prove that many of the prophets recorded in the Old Testament were false prophets, because they were persecuted by the Jews. The Jews are not able to give any reason why they acknowledge the law of Moses to be a divine revelation, which will not directly and more strongly establish the truth and authority of the gospel.

This argument is used by Origen [k]: and Orobius, being pressed with it by Limborch [l], was forced to make two awkward concessions: first, that a Jew could not prove his religion to a deist; and secondly, that it becomes every Christian and Jew to continue in the religion in which he had been educated, because each had arguments to urge which the other could not confute.

THE GENTILES had many prejudices in common with the Jews, and some peculiar to themselves.

The causes of unbelief which were common to them with the Jews were, a great corruption of manners, the prejudice of education, the purity of the precepts of the gospel so opposite to their vicious inclinations, the temporal

[i] Justin M. and Eusebius. See Justin, p. 171, and Thirlby's Notes, and Fabricius de Ver. R. C. p. 665.

[k] Contr. Cels. i. p. 32. and frequently through the whole treatise.

[l] See Limborch's Collat. et Le Clerc Bibl. Chois. xxiv. p. 539. The heretic Apelles said much the same thing, namely, μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὡς πεπίστευκε διαμένειν. Non esse omnino examinandam fidem, sed unumquemque in eo quod semel imbibisset perstare oportere. Eusebius E. H. v. 13.

inconveniences which attended the profession of Christianity, and the temporal advantages which might be secured or obtained by rejecting or opposing it, the poor appearance which Christ had made in the world, and his ignominious death, which they could not reconcile with the divine power ascribed to him by his disciples; these things produced in the greater part of the Jews an aversion for the gospel, and they had the same effect on the unconverted Gentiles.

The Gentiles ought not to have slighted and rejected the gospel upon account of the low estate and sufferings of Christ and his apostles. Their own reason, and some of their most approved writers, might have taught them not to value persons according to their greatness and riches, nor to measure the favour of God by temporal happiness, but to love and honour oppressed innocence [m].

They might have remembered, that the best man and the wisest philosopher recorded in their histories lived all his days in poverty [n], was exposed to slander and calumny, and at last was accused by false witnesses, and condemned to die by unjust judges.

They knew that virtue often obtains not the esteem and respect which it deserves, that it often lies concealed from the world, or, being placed in view, is yet not observed; and that posterity frequently does justice to the characters of illustrious persons whose good qualities have been overlooked by those amongst whom they dwelt [o].

They knew that virtue, though it be so amiable in itself, has a lustre offensive to the vicious; that therefore

[m] Omnes adeo vestri viri fortes, quos in exemplum prædicatis, ærumnis suis inclyti floruerunt. Minuc. Felix, 36.

[n] Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἀγαθοῦ ὠνητοῦ ἐπιτύχοιμι, εὑρεῖν ἄν μοι σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντα πάνυ ῥᾳδίως πέντε μνᾶς. I believe, said Socrates, that if I should meet with a good purchaser, my effects, house and all, would easily fetch me sixteen pounds. Xenoph. Oecon. i. 3.

Socrates, amicis audientibus: Emissem, inquit, pallium, si nummos haberem, &c. Seneca de Benef. vii. 27.

In Plato's Apol. Socrat. he says that he is in extreme poverty, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ εἰμί.

[o] Quamdiu Catonem civitas ignoravit! Respuit, nec intellexit, nisi cum perdidit. Seneca, Ep. lxxix.

pride, and ignorance, and envy, and malice, and censoriousness will join to obscure and misrepresent it, will endeavour to make it contemptible, and to bring it to a level with themselves.

They knew that he best deserved the name of a wise and good man, who lived up to the rules of morality which he had prescribed to others; and they ought to have admired a man, who, at the same time that he recommended to his followers humility, patience, and resignation to the will of God under the severest trials, forgiveness of injuries, and universal love and charity, practised these duties himself in their full extent, and was a perfect example of all that he taught.

The Gentiles could not conceive how one who seemed hated and forsaken of God should restore men to the favour of God, and how his sufferings could be serviceable to that end.

It is reasonable that the divine mercy should constantly display itself in all cases which lie within the reach of compassion. Such was the case of us men, who, though sinful, yet are weak and frail beings; though offenders, yet corrigible and capable of amendment.

But it is also reasonable that God should be displeased at the rebellion and transgressions of his creatures, that he should show his disapprobation of iniquity, and so grant his pardon, as at the same time to vindicate the honour of his government and of his laws. Now this he hath accomplished in a most illustrious manner, in the death of his Son,—thereby showing his hatred to sin in keeping sinners at a distance, and refusing to hear them in their own name, and in bestowing his favours only through the mediation of one, who 'suffered for their offences, and rose again for their justification [p].'

[p] Petrus I. ii. 19. vult nos patientes esse in tolerandis afflictionibus, quas insontes patimur. Adfert Christi exemplum: 'qui,' inquit, 'et ipse passus est.' Satis hoc erat ad comparationem: sed addidit, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, quod ad comparationem non pertinet, sed rem ipsam, hoc est Christi passionem, clarè designat. Commune ergo est patientia; modus ille differt. Alioqui frustra Paulus quæreret, an Paulus pro fidelibus esset crucifixus, Cor. I. i. 13. Poterat enim et ipse pro ecclesiâ, hoc est in usum ecclesiæ, crucifigi, sicut pati se dixit pro ecclesiâ, Col. i. 24. et postea magno ecclesiæ bono ipse gladio percussus est, Petrus,

It is further reasonable that even this intercessor should not interpose in our behalf, if we prefer vice to virtue; and therefore the gospel has taught us that Christ's death shall be no atonement for us, nor his resurrection of any benefit to us, unless we use our best endeavours to die to sin, and to live to God.

An example of goodness set before us for our imitation, encouragement to practise the virtues which are most conspicuous in adversity, which at the same time adorn it and soften its harsh nature, reliance upon him who underwent so much for our sake, hope that he will be a merciful judge, motives from gratitude to love him more than our sins, who loved us more than his own life, the fears of departing hence considerably assuaged,—these are benefits arising from the sufferings of our master, and useful purposes which seem to be better answered by this method of our redemption, than they would have been if Christ had descended from heaven to proclaim forgiveness of sins upon repentance, and to teach men their duty, and then had left the world without undergoing the evils to which he submitted.

aliique apostoli crucifixi. Sed eo modo, quo Christus, crucifigi, pœnas vice nostrâ ferendo, nec Paulus poterat, nec alius quisquam. Vox ergo illa ὑπὲρ, *pro*, peculiare hic aliquid denotat, quod apostolis communicari non potest. Posset autem si mortis Christi utilitas gradu tantùm a morte apostolorum, non etiam fine proprio segregaretur. Grotius de Satisf. cap. 9. p. 331.

Joan. i. 29. ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ—Respicit Baptista non ad agnum mactatum, gratiarum agendarum caussâ, qualis erat agnus paschalis, sed ad agnum expiandi peccati caussâ oblatum, quales erant agni holocautomatis quotidiani. Joannes ergo comparat id quod facturus erat Jesus ad homines ad sanctitatem adducendos, cum Deo reconciliandos, liberandosque pœnis quas erant commeriti, ritui qui adhibebatur, quando Deo victima pro peccato offerebatur. Tum verò quisquis sacra faciebat, ritu ipso sacrificii palam fatebatur se commeritum esse mortem, quam victima modò passa erat, seque moriturum, si Deus summo jure secum agere vellet: Deus verò vicissim accipiebat sanguinem victimæ loco sanguinis peccatoris, et sibi confessione rei ac pœnitentiâ satisfieri patiebatur. Similiter cùm Christus semet ipse Deo obtulit, humani generis loco sese ei stitit, at Deus accepit mortem ejus loco pœnarum, quas singuli peccatores luere debuissent, vultque eas ei condonare, eâ lege ut ii soli, qui Christo credent et parebunt, fructuum sacrificii ejus participes fiant. Sic nobis describitur in Scripturâ sacrificium Christi, nec ab eâ descriptione abire liceat, nisi velimus aliter loqui, quam fecere apostoli. Clericus.

The Gentiles thought it strange to ascribe such power and authority to a crucified man.

But the greatest power which any person can show, consists unquestionably in performing things which no other can do, unless God assist him in an extraordinary manner. To destroy the peace of mankind, and carry ruin and desolation through populous countries, is no more than what human strength and human policy can accomplish; and many have done this who have not possessed one commendable quality. To be honoured, admired, trusted, reverenced, and beloved,—these are advantages which may be obtained by great abilities, and a good disposition, and a favourable concurrence of circumstances. But, as the Psalmist observes, no man by the multitude of his riches, or the eminence of his station, can deliver his brother or himself from death, or make agreement unto God for him; for it cost more to redeem their souls: so that he must let that alone for ever. Therefore he who can heal all sicknesses and diseases by speaking a word, who can restore the dead to life, who can confer the same power upon others, who can deliver himself from the grave, is as much superior to the rich, the rulers, and the heroes of the world, as the heavens are above the earth.

If he had appeared in power and splendour, if he had subdued vice by force of arms, and established his kingdom upon earth, and ruled over the willing nations, giving them just and holy laws, and taking innocence and virtue under his protection,—such an enterprise, so accomplished, had indeed been great and glorious: but as in this case the means would have been proportionate to the end, it would have been nothing when compared with the deliverance which he wrought, and the victories which he gained, not by human means, nor by worldly wisdom, but by a most wonderful and unparalleled method, by submitting to poverty and contempt, by avoiding honours, by suffering indignities, by dying upon the cross, by sending out a few ignorant and obscure men, who with no other arms than patience and meekness, and with no other art than speaking the truth, though opposed by the learned and the mighty, introduced a religion which spread itself through the world.

The national religion of the Heathen, and their idolatrous worship, as established by their laws and customs, and received by the vulgar, was so strange, absurd, and inconsistent, besides its variety in different countries, that it is not easy to give an account of it. But briefly, and in general, it seems to have been founded on these suppositions:

That there were many gods, one of whom was superior to the rest;

That they were all concerned in the government of the world, and could do good or hurt to men, as they were disposed;

That they were far superior to men in power and knowledge, as also that they were immortal,—but that else they had like passions with men, were capricious, revengeful, and easily provoked [q];

That they only expected to have magnificent temples built for them, adorned with rich gifts, statues erected, and sacrifices offered to them [r], hymns sung in their praise, persons dedicated to their service, feasts and solemnities kept in honour of them; that whosoever paid them this outward respect was religious: so that religion and virtue were two things. Add to this, that some solemn rites consisted in cruel, impure, or indecent actions [s].

The Gentiles, though they had for the most part mean and false notions of religion, were more wicked than igno-

[q] The inferior deities.

[r] Pulchre observat Sam. Pufendorfius Introd. ad Histor. part. 1. c. 12. § 2 apud Ethnicos veteres nullas fuisse sacras conciones sive publicos cœtus, in quibus populus de religione sua institueretur, et de virtute ac pietate colenda admoneretur: sed maximam partem cultus deorum constitisse sacrificiis cerimoniisque et dierum festorum solennitate, quæ tamen ludis potius et luxu, quam divinarum rerum contemplatione et pietatis exercitatione, obibatur. Ita ut ex ejusmodi religione Ethnica neque per vitam erudiri homo in cognitione Numinis, neque inflammari ad pietatem, neque in morte solatium ac spem de meliore vita concipere posset. Quo magis agnoscenda est nostra Christianorum felicitas, &c. Fabricius, Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 379. The emperor Julian was sensible of this defect in paganism, and intended to redress it, as I observe in another place.

[s] Justin xxi. 3. Eusebius de Vit. Const. iii. 55. 58. Orat. de Laud. Const. 9. 13. Socrates Hist. Eccl. iii. 2. Clemens Alex. Cohort. iii. p. 36. Le Clerc on Exod. xxxiv. 15. Whitby on Ephes. v. 4.

rant. We need not appeal to the testimony of the first Christians, and to the epistles of St. Paul, for the truth of this: the Heathen writers, their poets, philosophers, and historians, have left sad descriptions or scandalous proofs of the extreme corruption of the age in which they lived[t]. Such a degeneracy amongst the Gentiles would probably produce in them a dislike of a pure and holy religion, of the disagreeable truths which opposed their favourite inclinations, and of those troublesome reformers who undertook to show them the necessity of breaking off their bad courses.

The philosophers and other learned Pagans scorned, no less than the Jewish teachers, to be instructed by poor, and obscure, and illiterate men: and as the Jews objected that none of their rulers believed in Christ, so the Gentiles observed with great contempt, that the first proselytes to Christianity were chiefly of the lower sort.

The philosophers, and the more learned amongst the Gentiles, might be ranked under three sorts:

Such as worshipped one supreme God, and many inferior, who under him governed the world;

Such as thought there was no knowledge and certainty;

Such as believed no God, or no providence.

Their pride and high opinion of themselves would not suffer them to condescend to be taught by men of no reading and learning; and their firm adherence to their several sects, for which they were remarkable, made them obstinate in resisting the best arguments. There were in particular two or three notions much prevailing amongst them, which increased their prejudices against the gospel:

First, that the learned might think as they would, and dispute as much as they thought fit, but that they ought to

[t] Seneca de Benef. i. 9. Velleius Paterculus, speaking of the proscription under the Triumvirate, says, 'Notandum est fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam:' a remarkable proof, if it be true, of the bad education and horrible debauchery of the Roman youth. Seneca de Clem. i. 23. observes that in the reign of Claudius, in the space of five years, more parricides were condemned and punished than had ever been known in all past ages.

conform to the religion of their country, and keep it up, as it was delivered to them by their ancestors;

Secondly, that God did not require that all nations should be of the same religion, but was well pleased with the variety of worship which obtained in different places, according to the different notions which men had of the divine nature [u];

Thirdly, which seems to be a consequence of the two opinions before mentioned [x], that religion or piety towards the Gods, as it is distinguishable from morality, was a thing of small moment in itself, and to be observed for reasons of state and for political purposes [y].

They had no notion of refusing to comply with established rites, under pretence of conscience. They accounted Christians inexcusably obstinate and perverse, when they would not sacrifice to idols [z], and no better than fools and madmen, when they would suffer death rather than submit to the command of the magistrate.

These were the persons who despised and ridiculed the first Christians, who resisted the gospel during its progress, who wrote against it, and were the last defenders of paganism, when under the Christian emperors it was in a very declining condition.

In the heathen world were also many thousands who lived by the superstition of mankind, and who therefore

[u] Socrates Hist. Eccl. iv. 32. Themist. Orat. 7. ad Valent. Symmach. apud Prudent. ii. 773.

[x] Seneca says, concerning the religion of his country, 'Quæ omnia sapiens servabit, tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata.' And—'Omnem istam ignobilem Deorum turbam, quam longo ævo, longa superstitio congessit, sic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad rem pertinere. Apud Augustin. de Civ. Dei, vi. 10.

Hortabaris me] ut—opiniones, quas a majoribus accepimus de Diis immortalibus, sacra, cerimonias, religionesque defenderem. Ego vero eas defendam semper, semperque defendi; nec me ex ea opinione, quam a majoribus accepi de cultu Deorum immortalium, ullius unquam oratio aut docti aut indocti movebit, &c. Cotta, apud Cicer. de Nat. Deor. iii. 2.

[y] But see Grotius de Jure B. ii. xx. 44.

[z] Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Plin. Epist. x. 97.

would eagerly oppose a new doctrine, which, if it prevailed, would put an end to their gain; and though, being illiterate, they could not write and dispute for paganism, as the philosophers did, yet they could lie in behalf of it, and denounce the wrath of the Gods, and stir up the populace against the Christians [a].

And accordingly, from time to time, oracles were given out, either real or pretended, either by evil spirits or by evil men, complaining of the Christians, as of enemies to the Gods, and exciting the Gentiles against them [b].

But the most dangerous enemies to Christianity were magistrates, princes, Roman emperors. When these were superstitious, or capricious and cruel, or when they thought it prudent to oppose any change in religion, lest it should hurt the state, the Christians were exposed to the fury of merciless tyrants. Of these emperors, some were remarkable for all wickedness [c]; they had a will to do any mischief, and nothing to hinder them from doing as they would [d]. They assumed to themselves divine honours, and hated every thing that looked like goodness, courage, and liberty. Under some of these emperors the Christians

[a] Haruspices has fabulas, conjectores, arioli, vates, et nunquam non vani concinnavere fanatici; qui ne suæ artes intereant, ac ne stipes exiguas consultoribus excutiant jam raris, si quando vos velle rem venire in invidiam compererunt, negliguntur Dii, clamitant, &c. Arnobius, l. i. p. 13.

[b] Lamprid. Alexand. 43. p. 993. in Hist. Aug. Script. Euseb. Vit. Const. ii. 50, 51. Sozomen v. 19. Chrysost. Homil. de Babyla.

[c] Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum, et sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, ademto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. Tacitus Vit. Jul. Agric. 2.

[d] Augustus cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine Principis, sub imperium accepit. Tacitus Ann. i. 1. Lege antiquâ, quæ Regia nuncupabatur, omne jus omnisque potestas populi Romani in imperatoriam translata sunt potestatem. Præfat. prima Digest. ad Trib. The same is often repeated in the Institutions, the Digests, and the Code. The emperors λέλυνται τῶν νόμων, says Dio liii. 'Licet legibus soluti simus, (say Severus and Antoninus) attamen legibus vivimus.' Instit. lib. ii. tit. xvii. Imperatori 'et ipsas Deus leges subjecit.' Novell. cv. 2. I speak not of the power which the emperors ought to have had, but of the power which they claimed, usurped, and exercised. See Gerard Noodt Orat. in his Oper. Var. and Observ. lib. i. c. 3 & 4.

were treated with great inhumanity and cruelty; and, which seems strange, they met with ill usage under some who had several good qualities, and from whom better things might have been expected, as Trajan, Titus, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius; but the reasons for it seem to have been partly these:

1. Those emperors who had many virtues, yet had their prejudices, or their superstition [e], and christianity had been misrepresented to them: nor are any persons more liable than princes to receive bad impressions and false accounts, and to have the truth concealed from them.

The emperor Marcus was prejudiced against the Christians, and in his own book xi. 3. censures, very unreasonably, what he ought to have approved, their readiness and resolution to die for their religion [f].

2. By the antient Roman laws it was not permitted to introduce any new religion without the leave of the magistrate [g], much less a religion which directly tended to overturn all the established rites and ceremonies.

Le Clerc Bibl. Chois. vol. xvii. p. 396. Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. l. iii. Huber. Dissert. l. ii. 1. and particularly Campianus de Officio, &c. Magistratuum Romanorum. The senate retained some authority, or something like it, till Leo abolished all Senatus-consulta. Constit. 78. See also the notes on Digest. I. ix. 1.

[e] Aliud erat quod maxime gentiles in Christianos commovebat, quod hi scilicet pro bono reipublicæ statu, aut imperatorum, vel patriæ salute offerri sacrificia improbarent, iisque nec adesse, nec etiam sive per publicos sive per privatos imperatorum genios jurare acquiescerent. Ad hæc, Christiani a festis solemnibus, ludis publicis, aliisque ejusmodi spectaculis quæ pro victoriis adversus hostes partis, aut imperatorum natalitiis fieri consueverant, sese abhorrere testabantur. Hinc mirum non est, si imperatores, etiam, qui religiosiores et mitissimi habiti sunt, Christianos penitus extirpare conati fuerint, quos nempe non religioni solum suæ, sed etiam propriæ saluti adversari existimabant. Ruinart. Præf. in Act. Martyr.

[f] Le Clerc hath examined and fully confuted those censures, Hist. Eccl. p. 693. See also Remarks on Eccl. Hist. 'Marcus Aurelius no friend to the Christians.'

[g] Tertullian and Eusebius say that the Romans had an antient law, which forbad the worship of new deities without the permission of the senate; 'ne quis consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus.' Apolog. παλαίου νόμου κεκρατηκότος μὴ ἀλλως τινὰ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεοποιεῖσθαι, μὴ οὐχὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δόγματι συγκλήτου. Eccl. H. ii. 2.

Julius Paulus, who lived in the time of the emperor Alexander Severus, has preserved to us an antient law relating to this subject: 'Qui novas, et usu vel ratione incognitas religiones inducunt, ex quibus

The Romans were remarkably tenacious of their own religion. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes, that though there were a multitude of nations, which in a manner had taken up their abode at Rome, each of which had its own sacred rites, yet no foreign religion had been publicly received by the Romans, or not, at least, till they had purged and corrected it, and made it conformable to their own [h].

animi hominum moveantur, honestiores deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur.' Sentent. Receptar. l. v. tit. 21.

Under the same title, he has another law against soothsayers and pretenders to inspiration, who are ordered to be beaten, banished, &c. 'ne humana credulitate publici mores ad spem alicujus rei corrumperentur, vel certe ex eo populares animi turbarentur.

'Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terrerentur, Divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescripsit.' Digest. l. xlviii. tit. xix. 30.

In the Acts of the Apostles, xvi. 21. some of the inhabitants of Philippi bring this accusation against Paul and Silas: 'These men teach customs which it is not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans.' Where see Grotius.

Cicero de Leg. xi. 8. 'Separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos; sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto.' [In the same book 'sacra nocturna' are accounted unlawful without particular leave.]

Plato has the same law. Ἱερὰ μηδὲ εἷς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐκτήσθω. Θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴῃ τινὶ, πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ἴτω θύσων· &c. 'Sacella nemo in privata domo habeat. Cum vero animum quis ad sacrificandum induxerit, ad publica sacrificaturus accedat,' &c. and the transgressors of this law are to be punished. De Leg. x.

The accusation against Socrates was, ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης, οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει Θεοὺς, οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων. Plato Apol. Xenoph. Memor. Clericus Silv. Phil. cap. iii.

Porphyry says of Ammonius, who, as he pretends, left christianity for paganism, πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο· 'ad vivendi rationem legibus consentientem descivit,' whereas Origen (says he) lived Χριστιανῶς καὶ παρανόμως. Euseb. E. H. vi. 19. This was the common language of the Pagans.

See Bynkershoek's Opuscula 4. 'De cultu religionis peregrinæ apud Romanos.'

If Ulpian's Treatise on the duty of proconsuls were extant, we should know what edicts had been published against Christians by the emperors, down to the time of Alexander Severus. 'Domitius [Ulpianus] de officio proconsulis libro viii. rescripta principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret quibus pœnis adfici oporteret eos, qui se cultores Dei confiterentur.' Lactantius Inst. Div. v. 11.

Pliny, in his memorable epistle to Trajan x. 97. inquires of him how he should proceed against the Christians.

3. The people and the governors of provinces sometimes persecuted the Christians without any particular leave or order from the emperor [i].

Melito, bishop of Sardes, in the Apology which he dedicated to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, says, 'Pious men are now persecuted and harassed through all Asia, by new decrees, which was never done before: for impudent sycophants, and such as covet the possessions of others, taking occasion from the edicts, rob without fear or shame,

Trajan, in his Rescript, so far spared the Christians, that he forbad them to be sought after, or to be condemned upon the evidence of nameless informations. But, if a prosecutor appeared, he ordered them to be put to death, unless they recanted. Plin Ep. x. 98.

However, as Pliny's letter to Trajan did not set the Christians in a bad light, so the emperor's reply was in some measure favourable to them. He seemed willing to connive at them, and not to use them rigorously.

Afterwards Adrian gave a rescript to Minucius Fundanus, [to be found in Euseb. iv. 9. and at the end of Justin's first Apol.] which is obscure. It doth not manifestly exempt Christians from punishment; and yet it seems in some degree to favour them, and might have been so interpreted by a judge who was disposed to put the mildest construction upon it. The Christians often appealed to it.

[h] Οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, καίτοι διεφθαρμένων τῶν ἐθῶν ἤδη, οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κορυβαντιασμοὺς οὐκ ἀγερμούς, οὐ βακχείας καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννυχιασμοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξὶν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβῶς ἅπαντα πραττόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὡς οὔτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις. καὶ ὃ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὅσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐληλυθότων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς ὁικοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡ πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὃ πολλαῖς ἤδη συνέβη παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς ἐπεισηγάγετο ἱερὰ, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμᾷ νόμοις, ἅπασαν ἐκβάλλουσα τερθρείαν μυθικὴν——Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὐτε μητραγυρτῶν τις, οὔτε καταυλόμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στόλην, οὔτε ὀργιάζων τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς, κατὰ νόμον ἢ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἡ πόλις ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔτη περὶ θεῶν, καὶ παντα ὀττεύεται τύφον, ᾧ μὴ πρόσεστι τὸ ἐυπρεπές. ii. 19. p. 88.

[i] See Sozomen. E. H. v. 11. Eusebius E. H. vi. 41. ix. 6. where it is said that Peter of Alexandria ἀθρόως ουτω καὶ ἀλόγως, ὡς ἂν Μαξιμίνου προστάξαντος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεσαι· which Valesius translates, 'subito et absque ulla probabili caussa, utpote Maximino jubente, capite truncatur.' I think it should be, 'quasi jussisset Maximinus.' The edicts against Christians were then repealed, and Maximinus at that time rather secretly encouraged than openly commanded those cruelties.

and cease not to plunder those who in nothing have offended. And if these things are done by your order, it is enough, all is well; for a just prince can never decree any thing that is unjust; and we cheerfully bear such a death, both as an honour and a reward. Only this favour we beg of you, that you would first inform yourself concerning men who are obstinate and inflexible, (in a good cause, as they think; in a bad one, as their enemies pretend) and then judge, as your own equity shall direct, whether they deserve punishment and death, or impunity and quiet. But if this resolution and this new decree, not fit to be enacted against barbarians and enemies, proceeds not from you, (as we have reason to hope) much more may we entreat you that you would not give us up unprotected to this public injury and popular devastation [k].'

4. The emperors disliked the frequent assemblies and clandestine meetings of Christians, as giving an opportunity to cabals and conspiracies [l].

Mæcenas is said by Dio Cassius to have given this advice to Augustus: 'Worship the deity yourself, by all means, according to the custom of the country, and compel others to do the same; and abhor and punish all those who would make any innovations in religion,—not only for the sake of

[k] Τὸ γὰρ οὐδὲ πώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, καινοῖς ἐλαυνόμενον δόγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· οἱ γὰρ ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταὶ, τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμὴν, φανερῶς λῃστεύουσι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθημέραν διαπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,—καὶ εἰ μὲν σοῦ κελεύσαντος ταῦτα πράττεται, ἔστω καλῶς γινόμενον· δίκαιος γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀδίκως βουλεύσαιτο πώποτε· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδέως φέρομεν τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου τὸ γέρας· ταύτην δὲ σοι μόνην προσφέρομεν δέησιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς πρότερον ἐπιγνοὺς τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλονεικίας ἐργάτας, δικαίως κρίνειας εἰ ἄξιοι θανάτου καὶ τιμωρίας, ἢ σωτηρίας καὶ ἡσυχίας εἰσίν· εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μὴ εἴη ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη καὶ τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο διάταγμα, ὃ μηδὲ κατὰ βαρβάρων πρέπει πολεμίων, πολὺ μᾶλλον δεόμεθά σου, μὴ περιϊδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὠμῳδεῖ λεηλασίᾳ.

The place deserves to be produced, were it only to show the politeness of the old Christian Apologist. The civility and decency of Athenagoras is no less remarkable in his Apology. In the interpretation of φιλονεικίας I have followed Valesius, to whom I refer the reader.

[l] Ab nullo genere non æque summum periculum est, si cœtus et concilia, et secretas consultationes esse sinas. M. Porcius Cato, apud Liv. xxxiv. 2. At Crotona, trecenti ex juvenibus cum—separatam a cæteris civibus vitam exercerent, quasi cœtum clandestinæ conjurationis haberent, civitatem in se converterunt, &c. Justin xx. 4.

the gods, but because such persons, substituting new deities, prevail upon many to observe foreign laws and institutions; and hence arise conspiracies, confederacies and fraternities, which are not at all expedient in a monarchy [m].'

But there is reason to suspect that this discourse of Mæcenas was the invention of Dio, who is every where very fond of showing his talent for politics and speech-making.

Christians were sometimes persecuted in a manner which (upon the pagan supposition that they offended against the laws and deserved to die for it) must be acknowledged not to have been the most violent and bloody; for it appears evidently in Ecclesiastical History, and in the Acts of the Martyrs, that sometimes a few persons only were seized and put to death, to intimidate the rest and to give a check to their increase; and that the Christians visited them in pri-

[m] Τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντη πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε· τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα,—ἀλλ' ὅτι καινά τινα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεισφέροντες πολλοὺς ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν· κἀκ τούτου καὶ συνωμοσίαι, καὶ συστάσεις, ἑταιρίαι τε γίγνονται, ἅπερ ἥκιστα μοναρχίᾳ συμφέρει. lii. p. 561. ed. Steph.

Pliny tells Trajan that he had forbidden such societies, and that the Christians had obeyed his order—'quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo, secundum mandata tua, hetærias esse vetueram.'

Magi auctores fuere Trajano ut 'hetærias,' id est, sodalitates sive collegia omnia, vetaret, ut videre est apud Plinium, 'exceptis quæ religionis nomine,' Paganicæ scilicet coïbant, l. i. § 'Sed religionis,' C. de Collegiis. Cum vero homines naturâ ament sodalitates, factum inde ut nemo esset in imperio Romano qui non in sodalitatem deorum alicui dicatam nomen daret, &c. Grotius ad Apoc. xiii. 16. See also Columbus on the writer 'de Mortib. Persec.' c. 34.

Severus gave a rescript ordering information to be made to the prefect of Rome against those who should hold unlawful assemblies; which probably affected the Christians, as Baronius observes 204. § 12.

Celsus objects these clandestine meetings to the Christians. See Origen contr. Cels. p. 4.

Tertullian says very well Apol. 39. Hæc coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par, merito damnanda, si quis de ea queritur eo titulo quo de factionibus querela est. In cujus perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi; hoc universi, quod et singuli; neminem lædentes, neminem contristantes. Cum probi, cum boni coëunt, cum pii, cum casti congregantur; non est factio dicenda, sed curia.

son, and attended them, when they suffered in great numbers [n].

AMONGST the bad dispositions which keep men in error and ignorance, there was one which was more eminently peculiar to the Gentiles than to the Jews, namely, a great carelessness and indifference about all religion in general.

Men of rank and fortunes, of wit and abilities, are often found, even in Christian countries, to be surprisingly ignorant of religion and of every thing that relates to it. Such were many of the heathen; their thoughts were all fixed upon other things, upon reputation and vain-glory, upon wealth and power, upon luxury and pleasure, upon business or learning. They thought, and they had reason to think, that the religion of their country was fable and forgery, and an heap of inconsistent lyes; which inclined them to suppose that other religions were no better, and deserved not to be examined. Hence it came to pass that, even when the apostles preached the gospel, and wrought miracles in confirmation of a doctrine every way worthy of God, many Gentiles knew little or nothing of it, and would not take the least pains to inform themselves about it [o]. This appears plainly from antient history.

About the time of the apostles, and a little after, flourished some learned men in the heathen world whose works are still extant [p]. These men must have known that there was a religion called the Christian religion; but their silence about it, or the very little that they say of the Christians, or the false account which they give of them, affords reason to suspect that they never desired to be in-

[n] Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu factâ obtulêrunt; cum ille, paucis duci jussis, reliquis ait, ὦ δειλοὶ, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε. Tertullian ad Scapulam, cap. ult.

[o] Many of them knew as little of Judaism. Dio Cassius says that Hyrcanus and Aristobulus quarrelled who should be high priest of their God, 'whosoever he be,' τοῦ σφετέρου Θεοῦ ὁστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν. l. xxxvi. p. 36. He says also that he knew not how the inhabitants of Palæstine came to be called Jews, ib. p. 37. and he adds several things which show that he hated the nation.

[p] See Le Clerc de l'Incrédulité, par. i. ch. 5. whence this remark is borrowed.

formed concerning Christianity, and that they understood nothing of it.

We read in the Acts of the Apostles, that Gallio, when the Jews brought St. Paul before him, would not give them an hearing.

He thought it unreasonable that Paul should be punished by him because he differed from his countrymen in matters of religion; and he thought right: but whether the doctrine taught by St. Paul were true or false, that he never considered for his own information, and therein he was very negligent.

When St. Paul pleaded his cause before Festus, his discourse was altogether to the purpose; but because it turned upon a religious subject, it presently tired the judge: he would hear no more about it, and he told St. Paul that much study and learning had made him mad.

When St. Paul preached to the Athenians he gained few proselytes. His auditors were men of learning and understanding: but they had more pride than knowledge, and more vanity than good sense; and therefore they left him, and neglected the opportunity of receiving further information and instruction.

Another prejudice which the Gentiles entertained against the gospel, arose from the mean or bad opinion which many of them had of the Jews. For a considerable time they made little distinction between Jews and Christians, accounting Christianity to be only a particular sort of Judaism [q].

The Gentiles called the Christians atheists, because

[q] When therefore Nerva forbad to accuse any person of Judaism, it is probable that Christians came in for a share of the benefit. Dio lxviii. p. 769. Fabric. Luc. Evang. p. 222. The Christian religion in its beginning was persecuted more by the Jews than by the Romans. The Romans had granted the Jews liberty of conscience, and of observing their own laws, not only in Judæa, but in other countries where they were settled: which appears in many places of Josephus, as Ant. xvi. 10. xiv. 7. and in Philo. Indeed, in the time of Tiberius, laws were made and executed to check Jewish and Ægyptian superstitions. Tacitus Ann. ii. 85. Suetonius Tiber. 36. Seneca Epist. 108. Josephus Ant. xviii. 4. The Jews, probably, suffered little from these edicts, and insinuated themselves again into the emperor's favour. The like may be said of the edict of Claudius, mentioned Acts xviii. 2. See Grotius on Rom. xvi. 3, 18. and Pref. to Galat. and Whitby on Galat. vi. 12.

they taught that the Gods of the nations were either nothing at all, or dead men, or dæmons; because they worshipped a spiritual deity in a spiritual manner, and had no temples and no images[r].

When the gospel began to spread in the world, the tares, as Christ foretold, sprang up along with the good seed: several heretics arose, who both taught false and wicked doctrines, and led very vicious lives. The antient Christians complain frequently that the Gentiles would not distinguish between the heretics and the true disciples of Christ[s], and that they laid the crimes of these false brethren to the charge of Christianity; nor could the singular inno-

[r] Justin Martyr and other apologists.

[s] Justin M. See Tillemont, *Carpocratiens*, Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. Irenæus i. 24. edit. Oxon. observes that the Carpocratians brought disgrace on the Christian name by pretending to assume it, though they had nothing common with Christians either in opinions, or in morals, or in way of life; and then adds these words: 'Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum nomine abutuntur.'

The passage is corrupted. Grabe gives it up, as a place which he could not correct, and two emendations of it are proposed, one by Massuet, the editor of Irenæus, the other by Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xxv. 237. which I shall not transcribe, because I think that they give us the sense indeed, but not the words. The likeliest way to discover where the fault lies, is, from this old Latin version to guess at the Greek, which seems to have been thus; Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν βίον ἄσωτοι, τὴν δὲ γνώμην ἀσεβεῖς, πρὸς (or εἰς) ἐπικάλυμμα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, ὀνόματι καταχρῶνται. That is, literally, 'sed vitam quidem *luxuriosi*, sententiam autem *impii*, ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum, nomine abutuntur.—But they, luxurious in their lives, and impious in their doctrines, make a bad use of the name (of Christians) for a cloke of their wickedness.'

Irenæus alludes to Pet. I. ii. 16. μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

Some transcriber, who thought that the substantives and adjectives ought to have agreed, changed 'luxuriosi' and 'impii' into 'luxuriosam' and 'impiam.'

So ii. 37. '——enunciare profunda et incredibilia mysteria *prurientibus aures*.' Irenæus wrote κνηθομένοις τὴν ἀκοὴν, from Tim. II. iv. 3. as others have observed. 'Prurientibus aures' has the same construction as 'vitam luxuriosi:' which greatly confirms my conjecture. See Clemens Alex. Strom. iii. 1. p. 510, 511. 523. 532. who uses ὄνομα in the same as Irenæus.

The old translation which we have of Irenæus is close and unpolite, and for that reason may often discover to us the original; as might easily be showed in a multitude of places.

cence and piety of the Christians secure them from malicious and false accusations [t].

Hence we may see why St. Paul says to Titus; 'A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.' For by the account which the sacred writers and the antient Christians have given us of antient heretics, we find that they were turbulent factious men, who wanted to make themselves heads of parties, or to sow dissension amongst Christians; that in effect they denied the authority of Moses, of the prophets, and of the apostles; that they blasphemed the Creator of the world, and that their morals were as bad as their belief. Such men could feign themselves Christians only for bad purposes; and it was fit that they should be rejected from Christian societies, especially after they had been admonished once and again. Self-condemned they were, either, first, because they must have known in their own hearts that they had not the same belief with those to whom they had joined themselves; or, secondly, because perhaps, when they had been formerly admonished, they had owned themselves inexcusable, and had promised a better behaviour. Thus the heretic Cerdo acknowledged his fault more than once, and was pardoned and received,—till at last for repeated offences he was either absolutely rejected by the church, or left it of his own accord [u].

If Tertullian [v] be not mistaken, Marcion and Valentinus were excommunicated twice at least *, and Marcion repented at last, and would have been received into the church, but was prevented by death †.

There is no small difference between the heretics of whom St. Paul speaks, and those who, though they fall into errors, yet desire to know and to believe whatsoever Christ and his apostles have taught, and to do what they

[t] See Whitby on 1 Cor. v. 1.

[u] See Eusebius H. E. iv. 11. and Valesius there, and Tillemont H. E. tom. ii. *Marcionites*, art. 6.

[v] De Præscript.

See Tillemont, *Marcionites*, and Bayle's Dict. under that word; and Tillemont H. E. tom. iv. *Sabelliens*.

* Semel et iterum. † Morte præventus est.

require, and are not seduced from the right way by any apparent motives of vice or interest.

We should not trust too much to the representations which Christians after the apostolical age have given of the heretics of their times; proper abatements must be made for credulity, zeal, resentment, mistake, and exaggeration; and as you descend from the middle of the second century, the descriptions of this kind grow less fair and consistent, and more partial and improbable; till, at last, very little credit is due to them.

The Manichæans were far enough from being heretics of the better sort [w]: yet Augustin, addressing himself to them, treats them with great lenity and compassion [x]. He had been one of them himself, and knew how hard it was to shake off inveterate errors and prejudices [y].

Because the Christians assembled together frequently, and that secretly and in the night, in time of persecution, the Pagans took occasion to forge a base calumny [z], and to affirm that they met in that manner to commit the most execrable crimes. This story, though no proof of it was ever produced, found credit amongst some; which indeed is the less wonderful, because wicked men are usually inclined to think others as bad as themselves [a]; and the Gentiles

[w] See the recantation of a Manichæan, before he could be admitted into the church, in the Patr. Apost. i. p. 543. ed. Cler. and 'The account of Manes, and of the Manichæan heresy,' in the Remarks on Eccl. Hist.

[x] Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quam rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis, ut possit intueri solem suum.—Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat ut ex quantulacumque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremo, illi in vos sæviant, qui numquam tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident. Contr. Epist. Manichæi.

This is talking like a man of sense and a Christian; but afterwards he changed his mind, and defended the vile doctrine of compulsion and oppression.

[y] Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

[z] Justin and the Apologists. See Minuc. Fel. ix. and Davies.

[a] Ex nonnullis comperi, persuasissimum habuisse eum (Neronem) neminem hominem pudicum, aut ulla corporis parte purum esse: verum plerosque dissimulare vitium, et calliditate obtegere. Sueton. Neron. 29. Ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur. Cicero Epist. ad Q. Fratr.

knew very well, that in some of their own religious assemblies, held in the night-time, all works of darkness had been committed.

But the blameless lives, and the shining virtues, and the patient sufferings of the Christians, dissipated by degrees these idle reports, and those Jews and Gentiles who had any candour and ingenuity thought them to be spiteful and ridiculous [b].

The novelty of the Christian religion, and the antiquity of Paganism, was another prejudice of the Gentiles. Where was your religion a few years ago? said the Romans. 'We follow our ancestors, as they, with good success, followed theirs. We have experienced the profitableness of our sacred rites and ceremonies; the Gods whom we serve have protected and rewarded us, and raised our nation from small beginnings to a state of great wealth and power. This loose and popular argument they urged very gravely, as if it had been a sufficient defence of their foolish superstitions.

In opposition to this, Eusebius [c] undertakes to prove that Christianity, in a certain sense, is as old as mankind: the emperor Constantine [d] is of the same opinion, and had learned it perhaps from Eusebius; and Justin Martyr [e] had said it before them.

The plainness of the gospel, and the artless simplicity with which the apostles and first teachers of it discoursed, was matter of offence to the Gentiles, and truth appeared foolishness to them because it was unadorned. They required a better choice of words, a more elegant manner of expression, more vivacity and fancy, more method and regularity, and more of the art of reasoning. Philosophy and oratory, of which they were so fond, had spoiled them; philosophy made them vain and conceited, and taught them to defend silly notions with captious and deceitful reasonings: and what was called eloquence at that time [f], though much studied and esteemed, had dege-

[b] See Justin. Dial. p. 155.
[c] H. E. i. 4.
[d] Apud Euseb. Vit. Const. ii. 57.
[e] Apol. i, 69.
[f] The time of Nero. Petronius, who lived at that time, justly complains, 'adolescentulos in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in

nerated, a bad taste beginning to prevail, which made them despise the unaffected style of the New Testament.

They complained of the gospel, that it treated men like children [g], and required an unreasonable condescension and submission from them, commanding them to believe every thing without examination, and upon the bare authority of Christ and his apostles, and not proving its assertions in an argumentative method.

The truths relating to faith and practice, propounded to us in the gospel, are indeed usually affirmed, and not proved according to the rules of reasoning. But every studious person knows that argumentative proofs of these things are sometimes intricate, obscure, and above the reach of the bulk of mankind, and that they may be opposed by ingenious men with subtil objections which may perplex a person of an ordinary capacity [h]. Therefore we may suppose, that one sent from God to reform and instruct the world will have recourse to some plain and satisfactory way of establishing his authority, which must be by working miracles, or by fulfilling antient prophecies, or by foretelling future events; and that, when he hath thus prepared men to obey him and trust in him, he will command as a law-giver, rather than reason as a philosopher.

The end of religious teaching is to make men wise to salvation; and if nothing be wanted to accomplish this end, there is no reason to complain that the style is rude

litore stantes, et tyrannos edicta scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita præcidant, sed responsa in pestilentiâ data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur,' &c. But Petronius himself, as Huetius thinks, 'judicio usus est in literis valde limato et subtili: stylo deteriore, affectato, fucato, interpolato: ut plus ei ad existimationem profuisse putem obscœnitatem rerum, quam sermonis elegantiam.'

See also Lucian, Quomodo hist. conscribenda sit.

[g] Origen contra Cels. i. p. 8. et vi. 'Credo quia impossibile est,' is often mentioned as a sally of zeal in some old Christian writer. Take it as it stands in Tertullian; 'Crucifixus est Dei Filius: non pudet, quia pudendum est. Et mortuus est Dei Filius: prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est. Et sepultus resurrexit: certum est, quia impossibile est.'—De Carne Christi.

'Pagani nobis objicere solent, quod religio nostra, quia quasi rationibus deficit, in sola credendi persuasione constat.'—Ruf. in Symb.

[h] Argumenta a philosophis producuntur speciosa in utramque partem; nec omnium est de eorum vi dijudicare.—Grot. ad Hebr. xi. 3.

and homely [i], or that the common ways of arguing are not observed. He who undertakes to instruct others, and has no authority besides that which he can obtain by raising in them a good opinion of his wisdom and abilities, should omit none of those arts of persuasion which ingenious and learned men have cultivated, that he may set truth in the fairest light; but he who comes from God, and to whom God bears testimony, hath no occasion for these methods of gaining credit. He ought to be heard with reverence and submission, though, as St. Paul says, his bodily presence be weak, and his speech contemptible. His very imperfections are in one respect a recommendation, as they tend to prove that his doctrines are not of his own invention.

Besides, the simplicity of the gospel suits with the subject, which is for the most part either an historical narration, or a collection of precepts. Even in human laws studied eloquence is out of place [k]. When God speaks and commands, perspicuity and brevity are the most proper ornaments.

Yet we need not acknowledge that the scriptures are void of those graces which are esteemed in human compositions [l]. There is in them beauty and sublimity where the

[i] Le Clerc on 2 Cor. xi. 6. and Hammond and Le Clerc on Gal. xi. 6. and Junius on Clemens, 1 Ep. ad Corinth. iii.

[k] Quæ quidem tradita sunt breviter, ac nude; nec enim decebat aliter: ut cum Deus ad hominem loqueretur, argumentis assereret suas voces, tanquam fides ei non haberetur: Sed, ut oportuit, est locutus, quasi rerum omnium maximus judex; cujus est non argumentari, sed pronunciare verum.—Lactantius iii. 1.

Simplex et nuda veritas est luculentior, quia satis ornata per se est; adeoque ornamentis extrinsecus additis fucata corrumpitur: mendacium vero specie placet alienâ.—Idem.

Non probo, quod Platonis legibus adjecta principia sunt. Legem enim brevem esse opportet, quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emissa divinitus vox sit. Jubeat non disputet. Nihil videtur mihi frigidius, nihil ineptius, quam lex cum prologo. Mone, dic quid me velis fecisse: non disco, sed pareo.—Seneca Epist. 94.

Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν—'Breves autem et compendiosi fuere [Christi] sermones, non enim sophista erat'—Justin M. Apol. i.

[l] Grotius says that St. Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians, 'rerum sublimitatem adæquat verbis sublimioribus quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana.'

subject requires or admits it; though it seems often rather owing to the things of which they treat, than to the choice and disposition of words.

When the Christians appealed to the miracles by which the gospel was supported, the Gentiles replied that those miracles were wrought by magic [m].

This was certainly a foolish prejudice, and a weak objection [n]. If the Gentiles meant that the miracles were not real, but only illusions and false appearances, this was confuted by the testimony of thousands, who had seen those wonderful works, and by the nature of many of those works, which was such that there could be no deceit in them. Or, if they meant that there were certain wicked arts and charms, by which bad men could compel the gods to obey them, and to assist them in performing supernatural things, this was a notion which was only fit for poetry [o]. Or, lastly, if they meant that the miracles were wrought by the interposition of inferior or evil powers, and not by the assistance of the supreme God, the answer to their objection is this: The Christian religion is founded upon natural religion, and supposes that there is a God, and that he is most wise, most powerful, and most good. Christ and the apostles appealed to the God and Father of the universe, to the first Cause of all things; they declared themselves to be his ministers, appointed by him to reform mankind; they declared that all other religions were false, and that all the gods of the Gentiles were no gods; they declared that they were sent to extirpate idolatry, and to overturn the dominion of evil spirits; and in attestation to this they wrought miracles. Here was a solemn appeal to the Almighty, and a public challenge to all other deities, and to evil dæmons: it is not therefore

[m] Celsus, in Origen. p. 7. and many others.

[n] Many Pagans were of opinion that the boasted arts of magic were folly and deceit. See Plin. xxx. 2. Sueton. Nero, 51.

[o] See Broukus. on Tibull. I. ii. 43. and Grotius de Ver. R. C. iv. 8. Menander p. 88.

——εἰ γὰρ ἔλκοι τὸν θεὸν
Τοῖς κυμβάλοις ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃ βούλεται,
Ὃ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐστι μείζων τοῦ θεοῦ.

Where see Le Clerc.

reasonable to suppose either that God would permit men to abuse his name and authority for bad purposes, and give such power to impostors [p], or that the gods of the Gentiles and evil spirits would not exert their utmost power against their professed and open enemies, and hinder them from working miracles, if they were able [q].

It hath been objected to miracles in general, that God, who is most wise and unchangeable, cannot alter that course of nature, which with perfect wisdom and prescience he hath established.

1. It would be proper to know what notions the objectors have of the Deity. If by the word God they mean the god of Strato, or of Spinosa, it is very true that such a god cannot alter any thing.

2. When a miracle is wrought, the course of nature is altered, but the will and purpose of God is not altered, who could not establish a course of things which he should not be able to change; and who, when he established it, knew what changes he would at certain times make in it.

Though miracles seem to be the best credentials which a person can produce, it is possible that, by being frequently repeated, they may lose some of their effect on some tempers, and make a fainter impression upon them. May we suppose this to have been the case of some careless and

[p] This will likewise answer the objection of the Jews, that Christ wrought miracles by the assistance of the devil.

[q] The Pagans were sometimes offended at their gods, and forsook them, because they did not show their power in resenting affronts and vindicating their own injured honour. In the reign of Theodosius, it happened that the Nile did not overflow at the common time. The Ægyptian Pagans grew tumultuous about it, and said that this evil befel them because they were not permitted to offer their accustomed sacrifices to the 'River,' and were afraid that he would be quite dried up;

> ..... 'At ille
> Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.'

Soon after he began to swell, and flowed much more plentifully than was usual; whereupon the Alexandrians, who were ever famous for scoff and ridicule, cried out in the theatre, ὡς οἷα γέρων καὶ λῆρος ἐξούρησεν ὁ ποταμὸς. 'Nilum, tanquam senem ac delirum, urinam effudisse;' and many of them became Christians. Sozomen. H. E. vii. 20.

negligent men who saw the miracles of Christ and of his apostles?

Christ often appeals to his miracles, as to a sufficient proof of his authority; and his apostles speak the same language. The Pagans, when they were afterwards pressed with this argument, to elude the force of it, used to say that Christ and his disciples wrought miracles by magic art.

To remove the objection, some of the fathers [r] had recourse to this solution, that the miracles of our Saviour were expressly foretold by the prophets [s], as well as his sufferings, his exaltation, and his everlasting kingdom. This circumstance, said they, distinguished the miracles of Christ from all illusions and fascinations, from all operations of evil spirits, and showed that the same Spirit of God, who so long before had declared them, was also assisting in the performance of them.

Thus far the observation was ingenious, and the reply reasonable and pertinent. But others went further [t], and said, that this circumstance was absolutely necessary, and

[r] Justin. Apol. i. p. 48. Irenæus ii. 57.

[s] The miracles of Christ were foretold by the prophets, and acknowledged by adversaries. Grotius de Ver. R. C. ii. 5. iii. 7. 14. v. 17. and Le Clerc's notes. Cudworth Intell. Syst. p. 271. Huetius Dem. Ev. prop. iii. 6. 8. Bayle Dict. *Hierocles.* Bishop Chandler Def. of Christian. p. 429.

[t] As Tertullian in a certain place, and Lactantius v. 3.

Arnobius, in his first book, hath reasoned better on this subject, though reasoning was not his talent, and his judgment was not equal to his learning and vivacity. Origen also insists upon miracles, as proving the truth of Christianity no less than prophecy. Contr. Cels. p. 5.

The Gentiles also opposed miracles to miracles, and the Fathers would not undertake to affirm that such a thing could not possibly be. When the Pagans said that some, by imploring the aid of their gods, had been cured of diseases, the Christians replied that it might be true, for that their gods were devils, who, 'irrepentes corporibus occulte, ut spiritus tenues, morbos fingunt, terrent mentes, membra distorquent, ut ad cultum sui cogant, ut nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum saginati, remissis quæ constrinxerant, curasse videantur.'—Minucius Felix, p. 137.

Our Saviour also foretold that false Christs and false prophets should arise, and show signs and wonders. To the objection which hath been made from this prediction, an answer is given in Remarks on Eccl. Hist. under the section of 'The miracles of Christ were of a prophetic nature, and represented future events.'

that if the miracles of Christ had not been foretold, they would have deserved no regard and credit. This was making improper concessions; for the miracles wrought in support of the gospel were attended with many circumstances to prove them to be the works of God, besides their correspondence with antient prophecies[u]. The predictions of Christ and of his apostles which were fulfilled, the noble ends for which their miracles were performed, the happy effects which they produced upon the bodies and souls of men, and the character and behaviour of those who wrought them, all vouch for them, that they were not only miracles, but divine miracles.

The particular nature of some of those miracles leads us also to the same conclusion; as, for example, the resurrection of dead persons, which requires a power equal to that of creation.

In the general opinion and estimation of mankind, the raising of the dead hath passed for an act of the most extraordinary power. The Pagans in general thought it incredible, and some of them said that it was an utter impossibility, and one of those things which God himself could not do. But from the nature of this miracle, and from the influence which it would have upon unprejudiced men, we may reason thus: To suppose that God would permit evil spirits to perform so affecting, so astonishing a miracle as raising the dead, and to perform it in order to mislead men, is the same thing as supposing that there is no divine Providence, and that God hath given up the government of the world into the hands of evil spirits. If a person by their assistance could raise the dead, and should teach doctrines not absurd and contradictory, an honest and prudent man would think himself obliged to obey such a teacher, and so would inevitably be led into error.

Thus the miracles of Christ and of his apostles may be proved to have been wrought by a divine assistance, without having recourse to antient prophecies. It is indeed a very good additional argument, that these things were declared long before, and that the Jews were prepared to expect such signs from the Messias.

[u] The miracles ascribed to Christ and to his apostles recommend themselves to our belief on several accounts, which are considered in the Remarks on Eccl. Hist. 'The Miracles of our Saviour and of his Apostles defended.'

The Christian religion required an open profession before men, which seemed also unreasonable to the learned Pagans, who, as we observed before, were generally of opinion, that if a man led a virtuous life, it mattered not much what religion he professed; that the supreme Being chose to be worshipped in various ways, according to the various notions which different people entertained of him; and that every one was obliged, for the sake of public peace, to conform to the religion established in his country.

I shall not treat this opinion with contempt; it is perhaps the most specious thing that the Gentiles had to say for themselves[w]. Let it be granted that a Pagan was not obliged to inquire diligently after all the religious notions and the various modes of worship which obtained up and down in the habitable world, nor to spend his time in examining what the philosophers had to urge for their several tenets; that it was enough for him to practise those virtues which had the general approbation, and to honour the Deity 'more patrio:' if we should make even these large concessions, yet when a religion, fair and amiable, just and holy, and attested by miracles, condescended to visit him and to come to seek him; to refuse her a hearing and to reject her with scorn, was an immoral behaviour, showed a contempt of truth and of the Deity, and was a scandalous indolence in a man, who probably would not have refused toil of body and attention of mind, if pleasure, or profit, or praise had called him to it.

To profess doctrines which we believe to be false, for worldly advantage, for the sake of quiet, for political reasons, and out of submission to the civil magistrate, is a vicious excess, which nothing can justify. Not to be content with the liberty of following our own sentiments, but rudely to attack what is accounted true and sacred in the nation where we live, is an extreme on the other side.

[w] Marcilius Ficinus, in his Treatise of the Christian religion, has in some measure adopted the sentiment. He contends, ch. 4. that all religions, how differing soever, are so far good, as they teach men to honour the Deity; and he adds, 'forsitan et varietas hujusmodi, ordinate Deo, decorem quendam parit in universo mirabilem.'

The king of Siam reasoned in the same manner, in his reply to the French king's ambassador, who pressed him to embrace the Christian religion. See Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites, p. 136.

The dictates of prudence and of good manners, and the reverence due to civil society, are things which ought to be carefully considered by those whose inquiries have led them aside from the religious opinions commonly received.

Lastly, the Gentiles disliked Christianity, because it was, in their way of thinking, an unsociable and domineering religion, which rejected all Gods, except one, and condemned all other religions as impious and detestable[x].

SUCH were the prejudices of the Jews and Gentiles, which made so many of them unwilling and unfit to receive the Christian religion. But there is reason to think that the number of unbelievers, amongst those to whom the gospel was first preached, was not altogether so great as is commonly imagined[y]. Besides those who professed Christianity, and those who rejected and opposed it, there were in all probability multitudes between both, neither perfect Christians nor yet unbelievers; they had a favourable opinion of the gospel, but worldly considerations made them unwilling to own it. There were many circumstances which inclined them to think that Christianity was a divine revelation; but there were many inconveniences which attended the open profession of it; and they could not find in themselves courage enough to bear them, to disoblige their friends and family, to ruin their fortunes, to lose their reputation, their liberty, and their life, for the sake of this new religion. Therefore they were willing to hope, that if they endeavoured to observe the great precepts of morality, which Christ had represented as the principal part, the sum and substance of religion,—if they thought honourably of the gospel, if they never spake against it, if they offered no injury to the Christians, if they did them all the services that they could

[x] When Dionysius Alex. was brought before Æmilian, and exhorted by him to adore the gods, he replied, that Christians worshipped one God, maker of all things. Why, so you may, said Æmilian; you may worship your own God as much as you will, if you will but worship our gods also. Euseb. E. H. vii. 11.

[y] See Epiphanius Hæres. 30. c. 9. p. 133. and Petav. Not. p. 58. where some strange things are related, the truth of which I would neither affirm nor deny. But Epiphanius was a credulous man, and, in general, little regard is due to his testimony.

safely perform, they were willing to hope that God would accept this, and that he would excuse and forgive the rest.

The account which we have of those times is very short; but enough is said in the New Testament to show that this supposition is not groundless, and that many thought and acted in this manner; for we are there told that several believed in Christ, but durst not own it; some because they loved the praise of men; others because they feared the Jews, because they would not be put out of the synagogue; others because they would not part with their possessions. Joseph of Arimathæa is said to have been secretly his disciple; Nicodemus seems to have had the same disposition; and afterwards Gamaliel, and other Pharisees, who opposed the persecution and the punishment of the apostles, were probably not a little inclined to Christianity. Thus it was then, and thus it hath been ever since. Truth has had concealed and timorous friends, who, keeping their sentiments to themselves, or disclosing them only to a few, complied with established errors and superstitions, which they disliked and despised. They who are at all acquainted with history, know that a great number of such examples might be produced [z].

The opposition which the gospel experienced from the Jews and Gentiles arose principally from their vices. To this cause the scriptures ascribe their unbelief, and observe, that truth is hidden from those who love darkness rather than light, whose deeds are evil, who hate to be reformed, whose minds are carnal, and cannot be subject to the law of God, and who have pleasure in unrighteousness. Of such persons it is said, that none of them shall understand.

[z] Erasmus Epist. 583. says, 'Quid ego potuissem opitulari Luthero, si me periculi comitem fecissem, nisi ut pro uno perirent duo?—Multa quidem præclare et docuit et monuit, atque utinam sua bona malis intolerabilibus non vitiasset! Quod si omnia pie scripsisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris. Vereor, ne, si quid inciderit tumultûs, Petrum sim imitaturus.

Father Paul, being asked by a friend, how he could hold communion with the church of Rome, replied, 'Deus non dedit mihi spiritum Lutheri.' See Burnet's Life of Bedell, p. 16. and Bayle's Dictionary, art. *Weidnerus*.

Virtue and goodness are the health of the soul, and vice is a disease in it. A sickly and infirm body cannot undergo hard toil, nor can a mind vexed and discomposed with irregular appetites, attend to the search after truth, wanting that evenness of temper, and that vigour, which are necessary in such inquiries.

The entire opposition between the principles of religion and the inclination of a vicious mind, makes a bad man an improper judge of morality.

A man seldom judges right in a cause between himself and his enemy; prejudice and passion incline him to give an unfair sentence. In such a situation is the sinner when he sits down to examine the truth of religion; for, if religion be indeed what it is commonly supposed to be, he is a rebel to God and to reason, a mere fool; and yet not excusable on that account, because his folly is not a natural but an acquired infirmity. And what can such an one do? He must hate the glass that sets his deformity before him, he must turn away his eyes and his thoughts from divine truths, and confound the differences between right and wrong, that he may find some plea for his conduct.

Since God is the father of all, since his mercy is over all his works, since he puts it in the power of every person to perform all that he requires from him, and since men are exposed to many temptations,—it is reasonable to think that from this supreme Being, from this eternal fountain of truth and of all good gifts, there issues a light [a], which lighteth every one that cometh into the world; and that whosoever hath a love of things good and praise-worthy, and a desire of acting a virtuous and rational part in his station, hath also a blessing from God, and a secret influence upon his heart and understanding to guide and improve him.

This blessing, as it is given to the good, so it is withholden from the wicked. The mind that delights in unrighteousness, and prefers it to the divine favour, is left to itself, to its injudicious choice, and to the fatal consequences of that choice. God withdraws himself from it, and all is darkness and disorder.

[a] See Grotius, Vot. pro Pac. p. 666. and Rivet. Apol. Discuss. p. 704.

II.

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

THE swift and successful progress of the gospel, which, preached by a few inconsiderable persons, overcame a violent opposition, and in a short time spread itself through the world, is commonly and justly supposed to afford convincing proofs of the truth of the Christian religion; and on that account deserves to be seriously and carefully examined.

1. The conversion of the Gentiles is a proof of the truth of our religion, if it be considered as the completion of several prophecies.

There are passages in the Old Testament applied by Christians to our Lord and to his religion, which must be confessed to have some obscurity, and to be attended with some difficulty: but there are others clear and express; and of this kind are the predictions concerning the calling of the Gentiles.

It may be objected: If the calling of the Gentiles was so clearly foretold, how could it be said in the New Testament to have been a mystery, a mystery to men and angels?

That multitudes of Gentiles should one day forsake idolatry, and be converted to the worship of God, this could scarcely be unknown, after the prophets had said so much about it; but that the Gentiles should become God's people without being made proselytes to Judaism, and that the ceremonial law should be antiquated, this was not so clearly declared as to be understood before the event explained it.

There are many places in the Old Testament[b] which declare that in due time there should be a conversion of the Pagan world; all nations should turn to the Lord, and

[b] They are collected in Fabric. Luc. Evang. p. 7. or Huet. Dem. Ev. prop. ix. cap. 148.

worship him, and his name should be great amongst the Gentiles; that true religion taught at Jerusalem should prevail over idolatry; that God should send forth his law thence, and rule over the converted nations, guiding and instructing them by his holy word, showing them their former errors, and teaching them to lead a new life; and that they who should submit to these divine precepts should also lay aside their mutual animosities, their hatred and malice, and should be remarkable for charity and universal love.

Thus speak the prophets concerning this great and happy change; and, from the manner in which they speak, we may observe that this reformation of the Gentiles should extend itself very far, that many nations were to leave their idolatrous rites, and to serve the true God; for nothing less can well be understood by these expressions: 'all the ends of the earth, and the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun to his going down.'

We may observe, that therefore these prophecies cannot be supposed to have been fulfilled before the preaching of the gospel. Many Gentiles, from time to time, became proselytes to the Jewish religion: but the number of those proselytes was not considerable enough to deserve to be described in such a manner; nor were whole nations converted to the worship of the true God; unless, perhaps, the Samaritans and the Idumæans[c]. The Idumæans embraced Judaism, being compelled to it by Hyrcanus; after which they were incorporated into the Jewish nation, and ceased to be a distinct people.

Our Lord came into the world, declared himself to be the person foretold by the prophets, who should work this great change, and in whom the Gentiles should trust, and sent forth his disciples to make converts in all nations, promising them success through his assistance.

Thus we see the prophets and our Lord affirming that idolatry should decline, and true religion be established in its place; we see Christianity propagated by the apostles through the earth, and prevailing over heathen superstition wheresoever it appeared: we see also that this was an event

[c] Josephus Antiq. xiii. 9.

which lay out of the reach of human foresight. The prophets had no reason, from the appearance of things, to believe that such a thing should come to pass. The worship of God was then confined in a manner to the Jews; the Jews were in danger of being, some time or other, subdued by more powerful nations, of being led away into captivity, or destroyed; they had little intercourse with other people, and were hated or despised by many of the Gentiles [d]; they often fell into the errors and vices of their neighbours. Upon all these accounts it seemed more probable that the time might come when the Jews should be cut off, or become idolaters, than that the Heathen should be converted by their means. And when our Lord said that the conversion of the Gentiles was at hand, idolatry was as flourishing as it had been in the time of the prophets; superstition in many places as prevailing, irreligion as general, and vice at least as triumphant as ever: the Romans, whose dominion was then very extensive, had no high opinion of the Jews: yet Christ declares that his apostles, though seemingly unequal to the undertaking, should succeed in it, and reform the corrupted world. The conversion, therefore, of the Gentiles, considered as an event which could not be foreseen by men, which always appeared improbable, and which was foretold by the prophets and by Jesus Christ [e], is a just proof that Christianity

[d] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν δικοῦμεν παράλιον, οὔτ' ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν, οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις· ἀλλ' εἰσὶν μὲν ἡμῶν αἱ πόλεις μάκραν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀπῳκισμέναι, χώραν δὲ ἀγαθὴν νεμόμενοι, τάυτην ἐκπονοῦμεν. 'Nos quidem neque terram habitamus quæ mari vicina est, neque negotiationibus gaudemus, neque earum caussâ nobis consuetudo cum aliis gentibus est. Sed sunt urbes quidem nostræ procul a mari sitæ, nosque regionem bonam incolentes, hanc cum labore exercemus.' Josephus contr. Apion. i. 12.

[e] Rutilius, who lived when, to his sorrow, these declarations were fulfilled, says;

> 'Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset
> Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
> Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt,
> Victoresque suos natio victa premit.' Itiner. 395.

Seneca had said the same of the Jews; 'victi victoribus leges dederunt,' apud August. De Civ. Dei, vi. 11. But Rutilius by his Jews means the Christians, whom he durst not openly abuse.

is a divine revelation, and that the Spirit of God, who so long before declared its swift and extensive progress, assisted in its establishment.

2. The propagation of Christianity is a proof of its truth, because it could never have made its way in the world without the assistance of miracles [f].

Not many years after Christ's death, we find great numbers of Christians amongst the Jews and Gentiles. We cannot account for their conversion merely from the love of novelty, from superstition and enthusiasm, from the promises and threats contained in the gospel, from the purity of its morality, from the good lives and patient sufferings of the disciples of Christ. We must of necessity suppose that miracles were wrought to convince them; and that for the following reasons:

The apostles, when they began to preach the gospel [g], declared that Jesus Christ had done many mighty works, and was risen from the dead, and had sent them to convert the world, and had given them a power to work miracles in proof of their mission.

By declaring this they were under a necessity of working miracles, or of losing credit among all men. If they wrought no miracles, they confuted themselves, and could never have made any considerable number of disciples. Since therefore it appears that they pretended to have received the holy Spirit, to speak languages which they had never learned, to perform many miraculous works, and to confer the same gifts upon believers,—and since they prevailed on multitudes of all nations, ranks, ages, and employments, to forsake the religions in which they were educated, and to embrace Christianity,—the conversion of so many persons is a proof that the apostles were undoubtedly endued with power from on high.

St. Paul planted and preached the gospel at Corinth, no obscure place in some remote corner of the world, but a city great and populous, flourishing in trade, wealth, and learning, filled with orators and philosophers, advantageously

[f] Origen uses this argument Contr. Cels. p. 30.

[g] Mohammed, prudently enough, always professed that he had no power to work miracles.

situated in Greece, and called the light, and pride, and glory of Greece.

To these Corinthians he writes two epistles: in the first he blames them for some faults which they had committed, amongst which this is particularly mentioned, that they had not always made the best and most discreet use of spiritual and miraculous gifts: he directs them how to exercise these gifts; and he tells them that charity, that is, the love of our fellow-creatures, and a study to promote peace, happiness, and virtue amongst men, is a more excellent thing than any miraculous power whatsoever: which, by the way, is not the language of an enthusiast.

In his next epistle, he commends the respect and obedience which they had paid to him; and to convince some of them still further that he deserved such regard, he reminds them of the miracles which he had wrought amongst them: 'I ought to have been commended of you; for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing. Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.'

Now, if the Corinthians had really no such preternatural gifts, and if St. Paul had never wrought any miracles amongst them, it is impossible to think that they would have retained any regard to him and to his doctrine. If we think so, we must suppose them to have been persons who lived in a polite country, and had not the sense of savages; men who had nothing of men besides the outward shape and resemblance; men of a different kind from any that the world ever saw before or since: for the most enthusiastic sect would forsake their founder and teacher, if he should write them long and grave epistles, full of matters of fact, which they all knew to be false[h], appealing to miracles which he had never wrought, and directing them to a discreet use of powers which themselves never had.

3. To establish a new religion, even amongst a few persons, or in one single nation, is a thing in itself exceedingly difficult. To reform some corruptions which may

[h] Non sani esse hominis non sanus juret Orestes.

have spread in a religion, or to make new regulations in it, is not perhaps so hard, when the main and principal parts of that religion are preserved entire and unshaken; and yet even this very often cannot be accomplished without an extraordinary occurrence of circumstances, and may be attempted a thousand times without success:—but to introduce a new faith, a new way of thinking and acting, and to persuade many nations to quit the religion in which their ancestors had lived and died, which had been delivered down to them from time immemorial, to make them forsake and despise the deities which they had been accustomed to reverence and worship, this is a work of still greater difficulty. The prejudices of education, and the stubbornness of superstition, seem almost invincible; and therefore the prophet Jeremiah, when he upbraids the people for neglecting[1] their own religion, and embracing the idolatrous worship of their neighbours, observes that their behaviour in this was not only base, and stupid, and ungrateful, but new and unparalleled. 'Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit.'

But besides the resistance which superstition and the prejudices of education would form, worldly policy could not fail to discountenance such an attempt. Changes in religion very often produce changes in the state; and, according to the maxims of government, all princes and magistrates look with an evil eye upon teachers of new doctrines, as upon seditious and dangerous persons.

4. It cannot be denied to be a very strange and surprising thing, that persons whose circumstances and natural abilities were low and mean should have succeeded in so great an undertaking.

It might justly be expected of one who should perform such a thing, that he should be a victorious and virtuous

[1] I say *neglecting*, rather than *forsaking* and *rejecting*. For the people of Israel and Judah, even in their worst and most idolatrous times, did never absolutely and totally renounce the true God; they worshipped false gods with and besides him. But God, who would not suffer the honour due to him alone, to be thus given to others, nor bear a rival, often resents and represents it as no better than apostacy. See the commentators on Acts viii. 42.

prince, who should make himself both reverenced and beloved, or a philosopher remarkable for wisdom and eloquence, skilled in all the arts of persuasion, and formed by nature to insinuate himself into the favour of men. But when persons of mean extraction, of no human learning, poor, obscure, and friendless, set about it, nothing can follow but scorn and disappointment, unless the Divine assistance be added, which can give strength to weakness [k], and wisdom to ignorance, and accomplish its purpose by the most unpromising means.

5. If these persons are not only of mean rank and abilities, but exposed to slander and calumny, and greatly hated by the world, there is still less prospect of success. Whosoever would command the attention, the respect, and obedience of men must stand fair in their opinion, as one who is disinterested, and who seeks their good. He who, though undeservedly, hath lost his reputation, hath lost many opportunities of doing service to mankind: what comes from him, though commendable and profitable in itself, is often suspected, slighted, and ill received. I have already showed the great hatred which the generality of the Jews and Gentiles bare towards the first Christians, and the causes and effects of that hatred. Therefore the progress of the gospel, in spite of all the lies which had been told concerning it, of all the malicious opposition which its professors underwent, can only be ascribed to the prevailing force of truth and innocence, and to the protection of the Almighty.

6. The establishing of Christianity in so many nations, and amongst persons of all ranks and conditions, is an argument in favour of it. Never was there a religion which in this respect can be compared with it; for it united the Jews and Gentiles, that is, persons in many respects the most opposite; it brought over rich and poor, learned and unlearned; it spread through barbarous and savage nations,

[k] Mirum est quam parum acuti essent apostolorum nonnulli, sed data opera tales a Christo electos fuisse verisimile est; ne dum putabant se intelligere quis esset, quidve moliretur, quidpiam ingenio suo freti, quod evangelio noceret aggrederentur; neve possent dogmatum, quæ nunciabantur, inventores haberi. Clericus ad Joan. xiv. 7. Vide etiam Valesium ad Constant. Orat. in Eusebio, cap. ii. p. 687.

and through the most polite and wise people, and made its progress far and wide.

The apostles began with the Jews; and though they could not succeed so well as to reform the whole nation, though the bulk of them remained incorrigible till destruction overtook them, yet the harvest was by no means contemptible. Twenty years were not passed from Christ's resurrection, when St. Paul, coming to Jerusalem, was told by the disciples, Acts xxi. 20. 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe[1].' So mightily did the word of God prevail, even in the capital city of that disobedient people. In other nations the success was greater; and in less than forty years after Christ, an innumerable multitude of believers was found in most parts of the known world.

A religion which can thus recommend itself to all tempers, and meet with so wide an approbation, must in all probability be founded on truth, and agreeable to the dictates of reason.

7. To convert nations to a strict religion, from religions which give great indulgences, and are more suitable to depraved inclinations, is a difficult thing. This was the case in the propagation of the gospel; for the Greek and Roman Gentiles were not very rigid in their practical notions of morality, and accounted many things to be either harmless, or small faults, which the gospel absolutely condemned; and the Jews, by their own interpretations, had made their religion compliable, and accommodated to their passions. Now when persons have been thus educated, and taught to account themselves virtuous and pious at a cheap rate, and without labour and pains; when they think that they can secure to themselves God's favour here and hereafter, and yet pursue their pleasures with little restraint, they are extremely indisposed towards a religion which requires quite another strictness in thought, word, and deed. It appears to them a severe, morose, and melancholy system, a cruel tyranny, and an

[1] Πόσαι μυριάδες, 'how many myriads, ten thousands;' that is, 'how great a number.'

heavy burden; and there must be bright and overbearing evidence to work a thorough reformation in them.

8. The conversion of very vicious persons from sin to righteousness is still more difficult[m], as experience and reason will teach, and is sometimes compared, in scripture, to a resurrection from the dead, and to changes naturally impossible. Though Christianity made its principal progress amongst well-disposed minds, yet several were won over to it, who had been remarkably wicked before; and this is a proof that there must have been very plain and strong indications of its truth, which could overbear all the obstinate opposition of habitual vice.

9. The conversion of multitudes to a suffering state, and to a religion so little favourable as it was at that time even to our innocent inclinations, is another argument in behalf of the gospel[n]. We all naturally love friends, relations, reputation, liberty, ease and quiet, food and raiment, and life. It is reasonable to suppose that a man will not part with all these upon no evidence that God requires it, and no security that he will reward it.

The conversion of so many, who laid down their lives for Christ, in whatsoever way we consider it, abounds with proofs of the truth of the gospel. The courage and constancy[o], with which the first Christians underwent all that human nature shuns and fears, is astonishing. Even women and young people suffered with unshaken resolution tortures which we cannot read without horror. There is just cause to think that God and his good Spirit enabled them to bear in this manner what they bare for his sake.

The Christian church was sometimes exposed to persecutions, which naturally and in the ordinary course of things must have put an end to a false religion. I know it hath been often said that persecution is not the way to

[m] Origen urges this argument Contr. Cels. p. 21. and in other places.

[n] Nullo modo fieri potest, ut quisquam tanti æstimet æquitatem et fidem, ut ejus conservandæ caussâ nullum supplicium recuset, nisi iis rebus assensus sit, quæ falsæ esse non possunt. Cicero Acad. Quæst. ii. 8.

[o] In this, says Chrysostom, the Christians far surpassed the holy persons recorded in the Old Testament, none of whom is said to have rejoiced in suffering for righteousness' sake.

destroy, but rather to animate and enlarge a sect. Ill usage makes men hate doctrines which tyrannical oppressors would force upon them, and fonder of their own opinions than they were before; ill usage often gives them a religious turn of mind, weans them from a love of the world, and teaches them to place their hopes and confidence in God; and therefore the constancy with which a person endures sufferings for his religious sentiments is not a certain proof that his notions are well grounded. All this will hold true, concerning that less violent kind of persecution which extends only to banishment, imprisonment, fines, and the like. But when it proceeds so far as to take away life in a cruel manner, bare obstinacy of temper will seldom hold out; a rational conviction and a divine assistance seem necessary to support persons under so severe a trial.

It hath been also said that almost all sects have their martyrs; and true it is that men may suffer, and have suffered, for false opinions [p]. But the case of the first Christians is very different. They suffered in behalf of facts. They gave their testimony to signs and wonders which they had beheld with their own eyes, and on which their faith was founded; in this they persisted, and for this they died. But no man, not even an enthusiast, will lay down his life in confirmation of facts which he knows to be false.

I have endeavoured to show that from the propagation of the gospel the truth of it may be proved, as it was foretold by the prophets, as it absolutely required the assistance of miracles, as it overcame the greatest difficulties and opposition, and as it was conducted and accomplished by persons naturally unqualified for the undertaking.

In this we may see one difference between the methods of human wisdom and of divine wisdom. Human wisdom spares no pains and industry in seeking out and applying helps and instruments proper in the ordinary course of things to bring about its designs; but divine wisdom often

[p] Ut pro concepta opinione mortem quis subeat, fieri potest, quanquam et hoc rarum est; at ut quis idem faciat pro testimonio rei quam falsam esse novit, et unde nihil aut ipsi aut aliis boni sperari possit, omnibus sani judicii hominibus incredibile videtur. Grotius ad Matt. xxviii. 13.

chooses means in all appearance unsuitable, and yet in reality the most effectual; which conduct of Providence St. Paul thus describes: 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence.'

This great event our Lord probably had in view, when he said to his disciples; 'He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father.' We cannot name any miracle wrought by any apostle which in any sense can be said to surpass the miracles wrought by Christ, except the conversion of the Gentile world, which, when we consider the difficulties attending it, and the opposition made to it, and the wonderful works wrought to accomplish it, and the happy effects and consequences of it, may well be considered as a more illustrious evidence of God's power, wisdom, and goodness, than even our Saviour's miracles of casting out devils, healing the sick, and raising the dead.

I have taken notice of the causes which in the ordinary course of things should have stopped the progress of Christianity. If every thing had been against it, and nothing for it, it must have perished at its birth. Let us therefore consider, on the other hand, what there was to help its progress, and to recommend it to mankind; and here we shall find at the same time new proofs of its divine original, since every thing that contributed to its establishment is a testimony of its excellence.

1. First then the prophecies concerning the calling of the Gentiles, and the miracles wrought by the Christians[q], were a sufficient recommendation of the gospel to all seri-

[q] We have Origen's testimony, that many, besides St. Paul and Cornelius, were called to Christianity in a miraculous manner. Contr. Cels. p. 35. And Grotius cites it, and approves it, on Luke xiv. 23. Tertullian De Anim. 47. says the same; as also Eusebius, Jerom, and Sozomen. See Eusebius vi. 5. and Remarks on Eccl. Hist. 'Origen's Testimony concerning Miracles,' &c.

ous, inquisitive, and ingenious minds. But these evidences have been already considered.

2. Another thing which might reconcile the learned Gentiles to Christianity, was a resemblance and conformity, greater or less, between the theological doctrines of revealed religion and the opinions of some or other of the wiser Gentiles in various ages and places, amongst whom are found evident traces of the doctrines of one God and Father of all, of a Mediator, of the original beauty and perfection of the creation, of the fall of men and angels, of a restitution to an happier state, of the conflagration of the world, of the soul's immortality, of future rewards and punishments [r].

3. Christianity had likewise this advantage, that its precepts were for the most part agreeable to the doctrines which some of the best Pagan authors had delivered.

The Gentiles, though in their searches after wisdom and knowledge they had fallen into many errors, yet had dis-

[r] Namely, one supreme God.

The Platonic Trinity, of which the first is τὸ Ἕν, τ' Ἀγαθὸν, One, most simple, and absolutely good and perfect; the next Νοῦς or Λόγος, Wisdom, Reason, the Word, who is the δημιουργὸς, the maker of all; thirdly Ψυχὴ, the universal Soul or Spirit, pervading all things.

Seneca's words, though they seem only to express so many names, or ways of considering God, are singular and remarkable.—'Quisquis formator universi fuit, sive ille *Deus* est potens omnium, sive incorporalis *Ratio*, ingentium operum artifex, sive divinus *Spiritus*, per omnia, maxima, minima, æquali intentione diffusus.'—Indeed he adds, 'sive Fatum, &c.' Consol. ad Helv. 8.

The doctrine of a Mediator, son of the Deity, one, or more, who conveyed blessings from God to men, and recommended men to the favour of God.

The doctrine of an evil Dæmon, who, though very powerful, was inferior to the good Deity, and should be abolished by him.

The doctrine of three states of the world, that all was created fair and good in its kind, that there has been a fall and impairing of this original goodness, and that there shall be a restitution of things to their antient beauty and perfection.

Proofs of these tenets may be found in Cudworth Intell. Syst. p. 222, 3. Hyde Relig. Vet. Pers. Ramsay's Dissert. subjoined to the Travels of Cyrus. Vitringa in Isai. xlv. p. 496. Jos. Mede, b. iii. ch. iii. p. 626. and Comment. in Apocal. p. 475. More in his Theological Works. Prideaux Lett. to the Deists, sect. 7. Fabricius De Ver. Rel. Christ. c. viii. p. 312. Huet. Alnet. Quæst. p. 290, &c.; not to mention many others.

covered many excellent truths[s]; and if a judicious collection had been made of the useful doctrines which some or other of them in various times and places had taught, a system of morality might have been drawn up which would bear no small resemblance to the dictates of the gospel[t]. And this doubtless was a great advantage to Christianity, that the New Testament alone should contain in it every valuable truth which different persons at different times by a sober use of reason had discovered, without the errors which they had blended with those truths.

4. At the time when the gospel was first preached, there was a great number of Gentiles, who were proselytes to the Jewish religion so far, that they worshipped the God

[s] Αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις καὶ γυμναὶ παθῶν ἐυστοχοῦσί πως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 'Great minds and free from perturbations have an happy sagacity in discovering truth,' says Clemens Alex. strom. ii. p. 482. speaking of Plato. The favourable opinion which many Christians entertained of this philosopher gave rise to a pretty fiction mentioned by Anastasius Antiochenus, and Nicetas, that when Christ descended into Hades to preach the gospel to the dead, the first who believed in him, and was converted, was Plato.

[t] The conformity of Philosophy and Christianity in many things hath been showed by several of the antient Fathers, particularly by Clemens Alexandrinus, and by Eusebius in Præp. Evang. I shall only cite Lactantius; 'Docemus nullam sectam fuisse tam deviam, nec philosophorum quenquam tam inanem, qui non videret aliquid ex vero.—Quod si extitisset aliquis, qui veritatem sparsam per singulos, per sectasque diffusam colligeret in unum, ac redigeret in corpus, is profecto non dissentiret a nobis.' Inst. vii. 7. See Grotius de Ver. C. R. iv. 12. The philosophers all prepared the way, though undesignedly, for the gospel, by exposing and overturning the popular and fabulous religions. Epicureism itself, though of all schemes the remotest from Christianity, yet in some things agreed with it, as;

1. In recommending temperance and sobriety. See Lucretius ii. 14. &c. Juvenal;

Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis!

Seneca does justice to Epicurus on this head many times.

2. In supposing that this world would one day perish. Lucret. ii. 1144.

3. In despising and exposing the poetical, popular, and civil religion of the Gentiles. The impostor Alexander, says Lucian, was upon good terms with the Platonics, Stoics, and Pythagoreans, but mortally hated the Epicureans and Christians, and therefore gave out that Pontus swarmed with atheists and Christians, and that the people ought to drive them away with stones, if they expected to have the God propitious. And when he celebrated initiations of his own contrivance, 'on the first day of the ceremonies, proclamation was made: If any Atheist,

of Israel, and renounced the follies and vices of Paganism [u]. Most of these persons were well disposed to receive the gospel, and were converted by the apostles. They of whom our Saviour says, that the Pharisees made them twofold more the children of hell than themselves, seem to have been the other sort of proselytes, who received circumcision and the whole law of Moses.

5. Another cause of the progress of Christianity was the importance of the truths contained in the gospel. The apostles, when they had prepared men to believe and obey them, by giving sufficient proofs of their mission, proposed to them the Christian religion as the only way by which they could hope to avoid extreme misery in the world to come, and to obtain everlasting happiness. A day of judgment, when every one should receive according to his works, a resurrection to eternal life or condemnation, were the motives by which they pressed repentance and obedience.

6. Another thing which contributed to the propagation of the gospel was the amiable character of the apostles and

Christian, or Epicurean, comes to pry into the secret rites, let him be gone. But ye who believe the God, approach, and be initiated, and happiness attend you! Then they cleared the place: and he began, saying, Out with the Christians! to which all the multitude answered, Out with the Epicureans!' καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ, προῤῥησις ἦν τοιάυτη· εἴ τις ἄθεος, ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος, ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ἱρῶν φευγέτω· οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ, τελείσθωσαν τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. Εἶτ' ἐυθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐξέλασις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο, λέγων, Ἔξω Χριστιανούς· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο, Ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους. Lucian Alex.

The reasons for which this juggler turned out the Epicureans and Christians are plain enough; but Dodwell supposes that Alexander was afraid lest the Christians should break the spell, and drive away the evil spirit. Diss. Cypr. x. 30.

Arnobius, l. iii. p. 103. says that some Pagans wanted not only to have the Scriptures destroyed, but also the philosophical works of Cicero. 'Tis probable enough.—'Cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur et fugiant libros de hoc ejus—cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, et dicere, oportere statui per Senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana religio comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas, &c.' It is certain, and might easily be proved, that Pagan authors have been at least as free in censuring and ridiculing their poetical and popular religion as any of the antient Christian writers. The Fathers therefore took no liberty in this, which had not been long and generally allowed.

[u] See Mede b. i. disc. 3.

of the Christians of that age. The disciples of the Lord were examples of fervent zeal for the welfare of mankind, of an inoffensive behaviour, of disinterestedness and self-denial, of indefatigable industry, of the most extensive charity, of patience and courage and constancy, and of a regular practice of all that they taught. The first Christians resembled their teachers in these good qualities; and it was no small advantage to them, in their apologies for themselves and for their religion, to be able to appeal boldly to their innocence and integrity [w].

That we may have a right sense of this, we should consider what it was to be a Christian in those days, lest we be deceived by the vulgar use of the word, and by the notion which we at present entertain about it.

To be a good Christian at that time was to be an example of well-tried virtue, of true wisdom, and of consummate fortitude; for he surely deserves the name of a great and a good man, who serves God, and is a friend to mankind, and receives the most ungrateful returns from the world, and endures them with a calm and composed mind, who dares look scorn and infamy and death in the face [x], who can stand forth unmoved and patiently bear to be derided as a fool and an idiot, to be pointed out for a madman and an enthusiast, to be reviled as an atheist and an enemy to all righteousness, to be punished as a robber and a murderer. He who can pass through these trials is a conqueror indeed; and what the world calls courage, scarcely deserves that name when compared to this behaviour.

This constant and pious greatness of soul under the most afflicting circumstances was one of the means by which Christianity was propagated [y]. The example of a

[w] However, we should not carry the notion of the sanctity of the old Christians too high; that they had their defects appears plainly from the Epistles of the Apostles and of Clemens Romanus.

[x] Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, &c. HORAT.

[y] Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. HORAT.

person who is humble and resolute in adversity, who places his whole trust in God, when God seems to forsake him, this example preaches the gospel more effectually than the most ingenious and learned discourse, and inclines others to think and to say, Surely that faith must be rational and well grounded which produces such noble effects; and that religion must have God for its author, which can support the mind under all difficulties and pressures.

7. Lastly, the gospel presented to men a dispensation of such awful and impartial justice so admirably tempered with goodness, clemency, and forbearance, that it appeared highly worthy of him from whom it proceeded, and as suitable to those to whom it was offered. It required a regular and universal regard to righteousness; but it offered an assistance which should add strength to human weakness: it gave no hopes to stubborn and habitual offenders; but it left room for repentance and amendment, and excluded none who by a change from evil to good would make themselves objects of the divine mercy.

III.

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

AMONGST the offices which our Saviour sustained, the office of king is first in dignity. Under this character he is described by the angel who was sent to his mother; under this character he is foretold by the prophets.

The first prediction of Christ's regal office is the promise which God made to David, that his house, and his throne, his seed and his kingdom, should be established for ever, as the days of heaven, as long as the sun and moon should continue; of which promise mention is often made in the historical books of the Old Testament and in the Psalms. Hence the Jews concluded that from David should arise the Messias.

The prophets frequently speak of this promised person, as of a king, and David[z] often describes the child who should descend from him, as a great and mighty prince.

I propose to consider,

I. When our Lord's kingdom began:

II. What are the particular characters of his kingdom, which should distinguish it from all other empires.

I. There is a kingdom which our Lord had from the beginning, as he was the Word of God, and the Son of God, and the person by whom God made all things. But the kingdom of which we are now speaking, is that kingdom which he was to receive when he became man, and which was foretold by the prophets, and concerning which the angel thus speaks in St. Luke's gospel: 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob

[z] Psalm ii. xlv. cx.

for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' And the time when it began is to be first considered.

The kingdom of Christ is commonly accounted to have begun when he ascended into heaven, and sent down the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless our Lord may be truly said to have been born a king, and his kingdom may commence with his nativity, though he did not exert many acts of royal authority, or suffer his reign to be manifest before his ascension.

For soon after his birth the wise men were guided by an heavenly light, and came and offered him presents, and paid him that worship which used to be paid to eastern kings, and acknowledged him as the great king who was to arise in Judæa.

After this he continued in obscurity till he entered into his ministry, during which he gave some intimations of his royal dignity, and permitted himself to be acknowledged as a king, but sparingly and secretly, that he might not offend the civil magistrate; for,

First, he took upon him the name of Messias, or Christ, and suffered it to be given to him. Now Messias, or Christ, in the opinion of all the Jews, was the name of that great king foretold by the prophets; and consequently all who believed him to be the Messias owned him for their king. Nathanael says to him, 'Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel:' and Christ accepts the acknowledgment. Afterwards, when he was entering into Jerusalem, all his disciples praised God, and said, 'Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord!' At which the Pharisees were offended, and said to him, 'Master, rebuke thy disciples. But he answered: If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.'

Secondly, he suffered himself to be called 'the Lord;' which implies as much.

Thirdly, it is the office of a king to give laws; and this office he executed.

Fourthly, when Pilate asked him whether he was a king, Christ owned to him that he was[a]; but to satisfy him he

[a] 'Cum vero Jesus hic regem se fateatur, negari mihi videtur non

told him further, that his kingdom was not like the kingdoms of this world, and was not opposite to the Roman, or to any other human government. This is that good confession, which, as St. Paul observes, he witnessed before Pontius Pilate.

Thus did Christ's kingdom begin with his birth; but whilst he dwelt here below it was small and obscure, and escaped the notice of the world. His subjects were few, weak in faith, and not confirmed in their obedience, and they forsook him and hid themselves when he was in danger. His kingdom was like a grain of mustard seed; but still it was a kingdom. And therefore, being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God should come, he answered, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo here, or Lo there, for the kingdom of God is within you.' Which is as if he had said, My kingdom makes not its first appearance, and is not ushered in with royal pomp and splendor, like the Assyrian, Ægyptian, Babylonian, Grecian, or Roman. It comes silently, and steals upon the world unobserved; for indeed it is already begun, and you know it not.

Hitherto we have seen our Saviour's kingdom in its infancy; but as soon as he was risen from the dead, and at his ascension, it began to be very visible and remarkable. Then, as the lightning which shineth from one side of heaven to the other, so was the Son of Man in that day. His glory and his gospel were propagated through the world with amazing irresistible swiftness. And therefore the apostles represent him as then invested with royal power, and beginning his reign, because it then began to be conspicuous. Thus St. Peter tells the Jews that God hath raised up Jesus from the dead, to set him on the throne of his father David; that he had set him at his own right hand, and made him Lord of all, and Christ,

posse regnum ejus aliquo modo inchoatum esse cum veritatem cœpit docere: nam ita ipse apud Joannem regnum interpretatur. Neque obstat quod passim regni ejus initium duci videtur ab evectione in cœlum: id enim de plena regni possessione intelligendum est.—Certe potestas remittendi peccata, quam Jesus vitam mortalem agens exercuit, ad regnum pertinebat, ut et liberrima illa miraculorum pro arbitrio dispensandorum potestas.' Grotius ad Matt. xxvii. 11.

or Messias, or the anointed king of Israel; that he had exalted him to his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour. And our Lord says of himself, after his resurrection, that all power was given to him in heaven and in earth. In the Revelation he is called 'King of kings, and Lord of lords.' This royal dignity, this high exaltation, this name above every name, to which angels and men should bow, is represented by St. Paul as a reward which God conferred upon Christ for his humiliation and sufferings. If we therefore consider Christ as man, it was a new dignity which he had not before his ascension, or rather, which he had in a more imperfect degree; but as he was the eternal Son of God, he had, as he says of himself, glory with the Father before the world was [b].

II. The second thing which I proposed, was to examine what are the particular characters of Christ's kingdom, which distinguish it from all other kingdoms; or, which amounts to the same, the peculiar characters of Christ, as he is a king.

1. Christ was not a temporal prince; his kingdom was not of this world; it differed in many respects from earthly kingdoms. It was not established, like them, either by human policy or by human force, but by a few poor, obscure, helpless, illiterate persons. It experienced such an opposition as would infallibly destroy any earthly dominion: kings stood up and rulers took counsel together against it, and the wise and the learned joined with them; and for three hundred years, from time to time, all kind of subtilty and violence and inhumanity was employed to overturn it; but the more it was persecuted the more it flourished, and at last prevailed over all its enemies.

It was a kingdom erected in the hearts and over the

[b] John xvii. 5. 'Glorify thou me,' &c. that is, says Theophylact, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην μου φύσιν ἄγαγε εἰς τὴν δόξαν ἣν εἶχον παρὰ σοὶ ἐγὼ Λόγος· which is preferable to the interpretation given by Grotius. But Grotius speaks otherwise in his Ordin. Holland. Piet. prope init.

[7] Εἷς Θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος ἀΐδιος, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών. Ignatius ad Magnes.

consciences of men. It was a kingdom which consisted of subjects who entered into it and continued in it voluntarily, and were neither encouraged nor kept in awe by those methods which are most effectual in civil society. Temporal recompenses and temporal chastisements were sparingly administered in it. At its first establishment, and for a considerable time after, the loss of friends and of fortunes and of life was the present prospect for those who should enter into it, and the recompense was eternal happiness after death.

2. Christ's kingdom was to extend itself over all nations, and to differ in this from human empires, which had indeed been called universal monarchies, and whose kings and emperors had styled themselves lords of the world, but had no just pretensions to such titles. Christ declares that all power was given to him in heaven and earth, that all things were delivered to him of his Father; and St. Paul, that at his name all should bow in heaven and earth. His kingdom, then, is universal, and all creatures are, or ought to be, his subjects, all the inhabitants of heaven, and all mankind. Therefore they who serve and obey him are to be considered as his dutiful subjects; they to whom he is preached, and who reject his gospel, are his rebellious subjects; they who receive his religion, but live not according to it, are his disobedient and sinful subjects; and they who never had opportunities of hearing and learning it, are to be considered as his ignorant subjects, who know not their true Lord and master; for he has a right to rule over them all, and in that sense is universal king.

But the number of those who should profess themselves to be, and who should indeed be, his servants, is represented by the prophets as exceedingly great.

'All nations,' say the prophets, 'and many people shall go and say, Let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths.—There shall be a root of Jesse, to it shall the Gentiles seek.—All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.—All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship

before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.—Behold my servant—in whom my soul delighteth—he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.—I will give thee for a covenant to the people, for a light to the Gentiles. It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation unto the ends of the earth.—The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.—From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts. —I saw,' says Daniel, 'and behold one like the son of man, —and there was given unto him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'

Thus it was foretold of Christ, in general, that he should rule over all nations; in particular, that he should have the throne of David, and rule over the house of Jacob.

3. Christ is called 'a righteous branch,' and 'the Lord our righteousness;' he is also called 'the Prince of peace.' His kingdom was to be a kingdom of righteousness; piety and virtue were to flourish in his dominions; his kingdom was to be a kingdom of peace, as it should be established without war and bloodshed, and as his subjects should be quiet and peaceable. Isaiah says of the converted multitudes, 'they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'

And again, describing the amazing change that should be wrought in savage and cruel nations, he compares them to the wildest and fiercest beasts putting off their nature and becoming tame and gentle. 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling toge-

ther, and a little child shall feed them; and the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp.—They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain.'

Concerning the completion of these prophecies there arises a difficulty, when we compare the predictions with the event. The objections I shall endeavour to state fairly, though in few words, and then proceed to the answer, to the solution of them.

The prophets, as we have seen, describe the kingdom of Christ, first, as extending in some sense over all people, and spreading itself through the earth; secondly, as comprehending in it the Jewish nation; and thirdly, as a kingdom of concord and righteousness. But, first, there have always been, and there are now many great nations who make no part of the kingdom of Christ; secondly, the Jews continue in their unbelief, and our Lord has no subjects amongst them; thirdly, there have been continual wars, persecutions, religious controversies, and wickedness, in the Christian world.

To all which it may be answered;

It is reasonable to suppose that the holy Spirit of God, who inspired the prophets, gave them a view of the kingdom of Christ, in general, from its establishment to the end of the world; and that they were led to represent it in their prophecies as it should be in its full lustre, in its highest degree of beauty and perfection; it is no less reasonable to suppose that the time is not yet arrived when his kingdom shall be in its most glorious state. It is therefore not to be accounted strange, if the present condition of Christianity falls short of those great and magnificent representations contained in the prophecies.

But though these predictions have not yet received their entire completion, yet a great part of them hath been remarkably and illustriously fulfilled.

Thus, though all nations of the earth have not embraced the gospel, which event some prophecies, interpreted literally, promise and declare, yet its progress hath been as wide as its beginnings were small; so that, according to the common way of speaking, we may justly say that

its sound is gone out to the ends of the world, and that it has overspread the earth.

The first partial accomplishment of the prophecies concerning the propagation of the gospel began in the days of the apostles, when multitudes of Jews and Gentiles were converted in Judæa and its neighbourhood, in Greece, in the lesser Asia, in Italy; when amongst them there were some who had been enemies to Christ, and to his church, and some of eminent rank and abilities; when these persons, laying aside their mutual hatred and contempt, their superstitions and idolatries, their vices and debaucheries, lived in peace and friendship, and were illustrious examples of piety and virtue.

Christianity thus established continually increased, and multitudes of believers were added amongst the Egyptians, Assyrians, Arabians, Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, and other people.

The second accomplishment began in the days of Constantine, when the Roman emperors became Christian, and the empire by degrees followed their example.

The third began some time after, when many nations which were ignorant, barbarous, and fierce, and might well be described by the prophets as lions, bears, and wolves, received the gospel, some sooner and some later; as the Goths, the Vandals, the Germans, the English, the Scots, the Saxons, the Bohemians, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Muscovites, and many other people [c].

Secondly; the objection that our Saviour should have at present no subjects amongst the Jews, may perhaps be thus removed:

By the ministry of the apostles a great multitude of Jews were converted to the faith, not only at Jerusalem and in Palæstine, but in all those various and remote regions where the twelve tribes were scattered abroad. These Jews retained a great regard for the law [d], and observed it along with the gospel for a considerable time; but after the de-

[c] Franci, Germani, Alemanni, Saxones, Vandali; Hungari, Bohæmi, Poloni, Gothi, Angli, Frisii, Longobardi, Bulgari, Mosci, &c.

[d] Many Jews of Crete embraced Christianity in the fifth century. Socrates E. H. vii. 38.

struction of Jerusalem, and the calamities which befel the nation, first under Vespasian, and then under Adrian, these Jewish Christians, partly through disuse of the ceremonial law, and partly through marriages with Christians of Gentile extraction, may be supposed to have been so mixed with them, that they lost all national distinction; which to them was indeed no loss at all, but a desirable thing. Their posterity therefore are now subjects to Christ, though under the common denomination of Christians [e].

Thirdly; as to the wars and vices of Christians, these answers may be made:

It is extremely evident that the precepts of Christianity are calculated to promote peace and virtue. Therefore, according to the common style of scripture, the gospel may be said to have brought peace and virtue, because it brought every thing that is necessary to produce them [f].

The style of the prophets is poetical, lively, and lofty; and therefore their magnificent descriptions of the happiness and piety which should adorn the reign of the Messias may be restrained, and understood in a sense somewhat lower than the words strictly import.

The doctrines of the gospel have undoubtedly produced at all times good effects in the minds of many Christians, who are peaceable and charitable, and ready to show kindness to all men, in their private capacities, as far as the laws and public interests of their respective kingdoms and societies permit.

Christianity has made an happy alteration in those nations who have embraced it, nor have they that fierceness and barbarity which they had when they were Pagan.

The benefits which Christianity brought to those nations which have received it, are in many respects greater than we usually imagine [g].

[e] Grotius on Rev. xi. 15. observes, that Christ may be said to rule over the Jews for ever, because 'semper erit in Judæa Christiana religio. Quod verùm fuit primum sub Paganis imperatoribus, multo magis sub Christianis, sed et sub Sarracenis et Turcis in hunc diem.' I take the solution which I have proposed to be more probable; though I reject not his.

[f] Vid. Grot. de Jure B. i. ii. § 8.

[g] See what Eusebius has said upon this subject, Præp. Evang. i. 4.

In the Gentile world men were loose and unsettled in their principles: hence it came to pass that impurities of all sorts were scarcely reckoned faults amongst them; that they made no scruple of exposing infants[h]; that they were cruel and inhuman towards slaves and prisoners[i]; and that they had public shows, in which men were obliged to fight with wild beasts, and to murder each other for the entertainment of the assembly. The Romans were excessively fond of this abominable diversion, and scarcely can any writer amongst them be found who declared a disapprobation of it, except Seneca the philosopher[k].

There were some in the time of Cicero, and probably they were Greeks, not Romans, who condemned this barbarity, amongst whom I wish I could place Cicero himself[l].

[h] See Gerard Noodt Julius Paulus, sive de Partus Expositione, &c. and the Opuscula varii Argumenti, and Curæ secundæ of Bynkershoek. It is condemned as a kind of murder, Digest. l. xxv. tit. iii. 4. Cod. l. viii. tit. lii. 2. Novell. cliii.

[i] Germanicus Cæsar Tacito narratur vicos Marsorum ferro flammisque pervastasse, additurque: 'non sexus, non ætas miserationem attulit.' Titus Judæorum etiam pueros et feminas in spectaculo feris laniandos proposuit. Et tamen hi duo ingenio minime sævo fuisse creduntur: adeo sævitia illa in morem verterat. Grotius de Jure B. iii. iv. 9. &c. &c.

Christianis in universum placuit bello inter ipsos orto captos servos non fieri.—Atque hoc a majoribus ad posteros pridem transiisse inter eos, qui eandem religionem profiterentur, scripsit Gregoras, nec eorum fuisse proprium qui sub Romano imperio viverent, sed commune cum Thessalis, Illyriis, Triballis, et Bulgaris. Atque ita hoc saltem, quamquam exiguum est, perfecit reverentia Christianæ legis, quod cum Græcis inter se servandum olim diceret Socrates, nihil impetraverat. Quod autem hac in parte Christiani, idem et Mahumetistæ inter se servant. Grot. de Jure B. iii. vii. 9.

[k] Casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi, lusus expectans et aliquid laxamenti, quo hominum oculi ab humano cruore acquiescant. Contra est. Quicquid ante pugnatum est, misericordia fuit. Nunc omissis nugis, mera homicidia sunt; nihil habent quo tegantur.—Sed latrocinium fecit aliquis: quid ergo meruit? ut suspendatur. Occidit hominem. Qui occidit, ille meruit ut hoc pateretur: tu quid meruisti, miser, ut hoc spectes? Senec. Epist. 7.

Homo, sacra res, homo, jam per lusum et jocum occiditur: et quem erudiri ad accipienda inferendaque vulnera nefas erat, is jam nudus inermisque producitur, satisque spectaculi in homine mors est. Idem, Epist. 95.

[l] Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri

The good emperor Marcus Aurelius, says Dio [m], so much disliked bloodshed and slaughter, that he ordered the gladiators at Rome to fight with foils, or blunted weapons.

To these we may add the Greek philosopher Demonax [n], who, when the Athenians were deliberating whether they should have gladiators, as well as the Corinthians, advised them not to vote for it, till they had pulled down the altar of Mercy [o].

It would amaze one to consider how many lives had been thrown away in these combats, and how many thousands perished thus every year [p].

It was a long time before Christianity could subdue this wicked custom. Constantine made a law against it [q], but it crept in again; and Honorius at last abolished it, A. D. 403.

solet: et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit: cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multæ, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina. Tusc. Disp. ii. 16.

[m] Μάρκος γε μὴν οὕτω τι φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἐώρα μαχομένους· σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν, ὥσπερ ἐσφαιρωμένοις, πάντες ἐμαχοντο.

[n] Ἀθηναίων σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θεὰν μονομάχων, προσελθὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς, Μὴ πρότερον, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ψηφίσεσθε, ἂν μὴ τοῦ Ἐλέου τὸν βωμὸν καθέλητε. Lucian. Demon.

[o] Gladiatorium munus Romanæ consuetudinis primò majore cum terrore (Græcorum) hominum insuetorum ad tale spectaculum, quam voluptate dedit; deinde sæpius dando, et modò vulneribus tenus, modò sine missione etiam, familiare oculis, gratumque id spectaculum fecit. Livius xli. 20.

When Herod introduced such diversions, the Jews were highly and justly offended.—Τοῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις φανερὰ κατάλυσις τῶν τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν. ἀσεβὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ προδήλου κατεφαίνετο, θηρίοις ἀνθρώπους ὑπορρίπτειν, ἐπὶ τέρψει τῆς ἀνθρώπων θέας. Indigenis vero manifesta videbatur morum, qui ipsis summo in honore erant, dissolutio. Res ipsa enim indicabat plane impium esse, homines ad bestias projicere in hominum ex spectaculo delectationem. Josephus Antiq. xv. 8.

[p] Credo, imo scio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos. Mentior, si non unus aliquis mensis Europæ stetit vicenis capitum millibus aut trecenis. Lipsius Saturn. i. 12.

[q] Cod. l. xi. tit. xliii.

The condition of slaves hath ever been deplorable [r], and worse than of the beasts. Cato the elder, so much celebrated by the Romans, was a bad master to his slaves, and is justly censured on that account by Plutarch [s]. By the Roman laws a slave could not bear testimony without undergoing the rack. By the same laws, if a man was killed in his own house, all his domestic slaves were put to death, though their innocence were ever so evident [t].

The Romans, who kept a multitude of servants, often neglected them most inhumanly when they were sick, turned them out of doors, and sent them to the island in the Tiber, where they left them to be cured by the god Æsculapius, who had a temple there. The emperor Claudius [u] decreed, that the slaves thus turned out should have their liberty, if they recovered: and because some masters were so cruel that they killed them when they were sick, he ordered that they who did so should be punished as murderers. Adrian wisely took away the power of life and death, which masters exercised over them [w].

Seneca [x] hath pleaded the cause of these unhappy persons with great strength of reason and beauty of expression, and talks like a philosopher and a Christian. Plato [y] hath not treated the subject so well, but seems rather to incline too much to rigour and severity in the governing of slaves.

Laws were made or confirmed by Christian emperors in their favour [z]; but still they were exposed to injuries and to cruel usage [a].

[r] See how it is described by Pignorius De Servis.

[s] Vit. Caton.

[t] Tacitus Annal. xiv. 42. Digest. l. xxix. tit. v. l. xxxv. tit. xi.

[u] Suetonius Claud. 25. Dio lx. p. 685. Cod. l. vii. tit. vi.

[w] Adrian in Hist. Aug. Script. c. xviii. p. 169.

[x] Servi sunt? imo homines. Servi sunt? imo contubernales. Servi sunt? imo humiles amici. Servi sunt? imo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere Fortunæ, &c. Epist. 47. See the rest.

[y] De Leg. vi. p. 777.

[z] Instit. l. i. tit. viii. Digest. l. i. tit. vi. 1, 2. l. xlviii. tit. viii. 11. Cod. l. ii. tit. lix. l. ix. tit. xiv. 1. Novell. xxii. 8, &c. &c.

[a] As it appears from many laws 'de servis torquendis,' and 'de quæstionibus.'

Christianity hath, in no small measure, removed these enormities.

It hath abolished polygamy, and in a great degree slavery, and thereby hath made the condition of millions far more easy than it would else have been. The gospel, indeed, hath not said that it is unlawful to have slaves; but by its mild genius and temper it seems, by degrees, to have expelled this tyranny from Christian kingdoms [b].

It has had some influence upon the civil laws of nations [c], and made them in several respects [d] more gentle and merciful [e].

It hath been the cause of many public charities, and has provided for the education of the ignorant, and for the relief of the sick and needy.

[b] Many laws were made by Christian emperors, which must have continually released multitudes from slavery. See Instit. l. i. tit. v. & vii.

[c] Leges Romanæ duriores erant, quam lenitas Christiana patiatur. Grotius de Jure B. i. ii. § x. 4.

[d] We must except some laws against Jews and Pagans, and particularly the scandalous laws against Heretics in the Theodosian and Justinianian Code, and in the Novellæ, and in Leo's Constit.; for which no excuse can be made. All that we can say is, that perhaps they were seldom rigorously executed, and that some of them were often overlooked.

[e] Thus Constantine abolished the cruel punishment of crucifixion and of breaking the legs, and of marking the face with an hot iron.

He forbad to seize upon men's servants and cattle for the payment of taxes, and to put such debtors in common jails, or to beat them.

He ordered that prisoners should be well used and conveniently lodged, and made laws in favour of slaves, and against excessive usury.

'Si quis,' says he, 'in orbe Romano eunuchos fecerit, capite puniatur,' Cod. l. iv. tit. xlii. 1. See also Novell. cxlii. and Leonis Constit. lx. Pagan emperors had made laws against it, Digest. l. xlviii. tit. viii. 3. 4. 6.

Valentinian I. made laws to release prisoners not guilty of capital crimes, at Easter; and other emperors did the same afterwards.

He ordered physicians to be appointed, with salaries, who should take care of the poor at Rome.

Gratian made a law, that those women whose birth and condition obliged them to appear upon the stage, should not be compelled to it, if they were Christians.

Also that persons condemned to die should have thirty days' respite. Theodosius confirmed this law.

Theodosius I. made laws in favour of the fortunes and families of condemned persons, and of those who had found a treasure. Adrian

We find in profane history [f] something that bears a resemblance to charity-schools, or a provision made for poor children by emperors or other persons of distinction, or by the public; by Nerva [g], by Trajan [h], by Adrian [i], by Titus Antoninus [k], by Pliny [l] the younger, perhaps. Constantine [m], who was a very generous prince, did as much, and more.

The temples of Æsculapius seem to have been a kind of hospitals; and doubtless the priests, who were commonly physicians, used their best endeavours to cure the patients, and the honour of curing them was ascribed to the god.

Hospitals are frequently mentioned in the Code and the Novellæ [n], and laws were made in favour of such houses,

and Nerva had done the latter. See Instit. l. ii. tit. i. 39. and Philostratus de Vit. Sophist. 27.

Forbad that girls should be brought up minstrels, 'tibicinæ.'

Made a law concerning wills, which greatly favoured the natural heirs, against his own interest.

Made a law, that if any person, forgetting all modesty and decency, should revile the emperor, and censure his conduct, he should not be called to account for it, nor suffer the punishment which used to be inflicted on such offenders.

Made a law against an infamous way of punishing women convicted of adultery, who had been compelled to be common prostitutes, if Socrates be not mistaken, Hist. Eccl. v. 18. See the place: but I agree with Valesius, who says, 'Vix crediderim Romanos ea pœna affecisse mulieres adulteras,' &c.

Ordered that all who in their infancy had been sold for slaves, should be set at liberty, many of whom belonged to the emperor.

Honorius made a very merciful law in favour of prisoners.

These laws may be found in the Theod. Code, or see Justinian's Code, l. i. tit. iv. 3. 9. 12. 14. 22, 23, 24. 33. tit. xii. 3. l. ix. tit. iii. 2. tit iv. 1, 2, &c. tit. vii. l. v. tit. iv. 28, 29. l. vi. tit. xxiii. 20. tit. xxxv. 12. tit. li. l. ix. tit. iii. 2. tit. iv. 1, 2, 3. 6. tit. v. 1. tit. vii. tit. xlvii. 17., 20. 22, 23. 26. tit. xlix. 10. l. x. tit. xv. tit. xix. 2. Novell. xiv. i. xvii. 12. xxii. 8. xxxii. 1. xxxiii. 1. cxxxiv. 13. de pœnarum omnium moderatione. Leonis Constit. li.

[f] Concerning the places called 'Valetudinaria, Νοσοκομεῖα, see Seneca Epist. xxvii. De Ira i. 16. Nat. Quæst. i. Præfat. and the Notes of Lipsius, Gruter, and Gronovius.

[g] Aurel. Victor.
[h] Plin. Paneg. Dio lxviii. p. 771.
[i] Spartian. in Hist. Aug.
[k] Capitolin. in Hist. Aug.
[l] Epist. i. 8. vii. 18.
[m] Cod. Theod. l. ii. t. 27. l. 1.
[n] Orphanotrophia, Gerontocomia, Ptochotrophia, Nosocomia, Brephotrophia.

and of those who presided over them. The emperor Julian[o], amongst the many schemes which he formed for the destruction of our religion, proposed to introduce into Paganism what he judged to be most commendable in Christianity; as schools for moral lectures, readers and preachers in the temples, forms of prayer, hospitals for the reception of strangers, of the sick and helpless, collections for the poor, recommendatory letters for travellers, &c.

Christianity hath given men a clearer knowledge of God and of morality, and of a future state. Hence it comes to pass that the far greater part of Christians, when they do amiss, sin against conscience, and feel many restraints and checks, by which they are at least kept from some crimes which they else would have committed, and incited to do some good actions which they would not have performed.

Several of these benefits are more evidently visible in some Christian countries than in others[p]; but they are to be found in some measure in all nations where the gospel is received.

The gospel, for several ages after its establishment, was of some benefit even to those who received it not[q]; for the Pagan philosophers and learned men in those times[r] were improved in their notions of morality and religion; for which we can account no way so probably as from their intercourse, and conversation, and debates with Christians.

The gospel hath likewise been in some measure serviceable to those great and populous nations who are Mohammedan; for their religion, false and foolish as it is, bor-

[o] Gregor. Nazianz. orat. iii. Julian. Fragm. et Epist. 49. Sozomen. H. E. v. 16. If Julian's project had taken place, the Pagans would have imitated the Christians very awkwardly, as monkeys mimic men.

[p] The church of Christ here upon earth, in a true sense, is the whole number of all those, in all places, who believe in Christ, and endeavour to know his will and obey his laws. Every person who is in such a disposition of mind, is a member of the universal church, and, as such, a Christian.

[q] Whitby on 1 Cor. xv. 44.

[r] See the Disc. on the Gospel as it is grace and truth.

rows several things from Judaism and Christianity; it teaches the belief of one God maker of heaven and earth, and of a providence, and of a future state. Therefore it is better than Epicurean notions of the mortality of the soul, and of a God who takes no care of the world; it is better than Pagan idolatry, than the worship of dæmons, of false gods, of stocks and stones.

Justice requires us to give every one his due, and to commend what is commendable, wheresoever we find it [s]. Christianity is so fair and excellent, that we need not misrepresent other religions, to set it off to more advantage. It should be acknowledged that the false prophet, in his Koran, requires the belief of one God, trust in him, frequent prayer and fasting, alms-giving, even to strangers, keeping of covenants, justice in dealings, patience in adversity, to honour father and mother, and to maintain them if they are old and poor; that he forbids usury, bearing false witness, profane swearing by the name of God, and the murdering of infants, which had been common in Arabia [t].

4. It is prophesied of Christ that he should be a conqueror, a prosperous and victorious king, who should subdue all his enemies. To him, as he is a king, belongs the right of judging and punishing those who rebel against him, and refuse to submit to him. Kings in antient times were also judges, and in scripture are called judges of the earth. And of the Messias it is said, that he should judge with righteousness, that he should smite the earth with the

[s] Αἰνεῖν αἰνητά.

[t] But Mohammedism is a religion destitute of all proper evidence, and liable to insuperable objections.

Mohammed sufficiently confuted himself by striking out some passages of the Koran, upon second thoughts, and when his exigences required it, saying, 'In the name of God, whatever verse we shall abrogate,' &c. ch. ii. p. 14. and ch. xiv. p. 223. Sale's edit.

The xxiiid chapter shows him to be an impostor.

His invention was very poor and narrow. If the repetitions were blotted out, not more than a fourth part of his book would be left.

In some passages of the Koran he denies a possibility of salvation to those who reject it; in other places he is thought by some to have left room for virtuous men who believed a God and a future state. See ch. ii. p. 8. and the Notes; and Fabricius Luc. Evang. p. 491.

rod of his mouth, and slay the wicked, that his enemies should lick the dust, that he should break in pieces the oppressor, that kings should perish if he were angry with them, and that he should smite in sunder their heads over divers countries; and many like acts of power are ascribed to him. In the New Testament also our Saviour, under some parables, represents himself as a king, who should destroy his enemies, and declares that all judgment is committed to him by his Father.

Many of these acts of regal authority have had their signal completion; for,

First; Christ punished Judæa with utter desolation. His rebellious subjects there, who would not that he should reign over them, were given up to a reprobate mind, to blindness and madness, and by their own outrageous iniquity, by civil discord, by famine, by war with the Romans, suffered calamities [u] not to be equalled in the history of any other people [w]; their city and temple were destroyed, and those of them who survived were scattered into all lands.

After this, the Jews of Libya, Ægypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia rebelled, and slew an innumerable multitude of people, for which they were severely punished by Trajan.

After this, when the Jews began to gather and to settle once again in Jerusalem [x], they drew upon themselves the arms of the emperor Adrian; and, if we may believe their own writers [y], they suffered calamities not less severe and extensive than the former.

In the time of Constantius they rebelled again [z], and Gallus slew many thousands of them, not sparing even the

[u] Before this, in the time of Caius, a slaughter was made of the Jews in Ægypt, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Syria, and Seleucia, which was, says Josephus, φόνος πολὺς, καὶ ὀπόσος οὐκ ἰστορημένος πρότερον, a greater destruction than any that was ever before recorded of them. Ant. xviii. 9.

[w] These calamities were not confined to Palæstine, but reached them in all places where they dwelt, as in Ægypt, Syria, &c.

[x] Eusebius E. H. iv. 2. 6. & Valesius; & Fabric. Luc. Evang. p. 124, &c.

[y] Buxtorf. in vocibus *Bitter, Barchoziba.*

[z] Hieron. in Chron. ann. 355. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. ii. 33. Sozom. iv. 7.

children, and burnt Diocæsarea, Tiberias, Diospolis, and other towns of the Jews.

After this the emperor Julian, in hatred to the Christian religion, would have settled them in Jerusalem, and restored to them their temple; but all his attempts were frustrated in a miraculous manner by Divine Providence.

After this, in later times, Christian princes entertained a design to deliver the holy land from the infidels, and many attempts of that kind were made, which God would not suffer to prosper; but Judæa lies to this day barren, uncultivated, thinly inhabited, a memorable and dreadful example of Divine justice.

Secondly; it hath been a common opinion, that our Saviour punished the Roman empire, that great adversary and oppressor of Christianity, that cruel persecutor of his church, that empire of Satan. Thus much is certain; that most of the persecuting emperors were cut off, one after another, in a very remarkable manner[a]; and that the empire was visited with plague and famine, with civil wars, with inundations of savage and barbarous people, Persians, Goths, Germans, Scythians, &c. till all Italy, and Rome[b] itself, fell into their hands and was plundered by them.

These acts of regal authority Christ has executed. Some remain, which in their due season will be accomplished;

[a] See Grotius Append. de Antichr. p. 499. and the writer de Mortib. Persecut.

[b] However, it must be confessed that Rome at that time was Christian, and under Christian emperors. Jos. Mede has taken notice of this, and says, 'Although the Roman emperors were now become Christians, yet would not God forget their former slaughters of his servants, but require their blood at the hand of that empire.' p. 919. 'Nec est,' says Grotius, 'quod quisquam opponat tunc Romam fuisse Christianam. Contrà enim verum est, etiam postquam imperatores facti erant Christiani, Romæ mansisse idololatriam tum in senatu, tum in plebe.' ad Apocal. xvii. 16. See also Hammond there, and Grotius Append. de Antichr. p. 501.

Add to these the following observation: 'Scribere enim disposui—quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit et adulta, persecutionibus creverit,—et postquam ad Christianos principes venerit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, virtutibus minor facta sit.' Hieronymus in vita S. Malchi.

for it is generally supposed that the prophets speak of a time when the Jews shall be converted, and the fulness of the Gentiles shall flow into the church, and the kingdoms of the world shall be the kingdoms of Christ; when the gospel shall be further spread, and better understood, and more religiously observed than it is at present. And without question, these great events will be attended with as great and conspicuous acts of Christ's royal power and majesty.

But the most illustrious act of royal authority which Christ will exercise, will be at the end of all things, when he will judge the world in the truest and largest sense; when this sinful earth, the seat of folly and iniquity, shall be set on fire and consume away before his presence; when he will pass sentence on the evil angels; when he will raise up the dead, and distribute rewards and punishments to all, proportionably to their behaviour in the days of their mortality.

Thus are we come to the most glorious part of Christ's reign, and also to the conclusion of it. It is said, by the angel, that he should reign for ever, and of his kingdom there should be no end; and the angel's words are taken from Isaiah, who, prophesying of the Messias, says; 'Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever.' Daniel speaks in the same manner: 'His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' And again: 'The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and it shall stand for ever.' In this also Christ's kingdom was to differ from all other kingdoms, from all the preceding human monarchies, which, when they had arrived to their full strength and glory, had the same fate which attends human bodies, and either were quickly destroyed by violent causes, or insensibly decayed and mouldered away, so that no tokens of them would have remained, if history had not written their epitaph, and told us where they lay, and what they had been.

Not such was to be the fate of Christ's kingdom, to

which the prophets, with one voice, have promised an eternal duration.

Yet St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, says that Christ's kingdom shall have an end. To reconcile which with the prophecies, we must observe that the expressions, 'everlasting,' 'for ever,' and 'without end [c],' are used by sacred as well as profane authors, in different senses, according to the subject to which they are applied. When therefore it is said that Christ shall reign for ever, the meaning seems to be that he shall reign as long as the world lasts [d]: when it is said that of his kingdom there shall be no end, the meaning is that it shall not pass away like other kingdoms, and that there shall be no end of it, till the consummation of all things.

Then cometh the end, says St. Paul, 'when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power; for he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy which shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.'

Christ will then have no more enemies to subdue, when death shall be destroyed, and sin shall receive its due correction: he will have no more occasion to protect and to reward his servants, when he hath raised them up to eternal life, and given them seats in his kingdom of heaven. These acts therefore of regal authority he can exercise no longer [e].

But since Christ is, to all his faithful servants, not only a creator, but a guide and a teacher, a saviour and a mediator, a king and a judge, the benefits received from these relations which Christ bears to them are of an endless na-

[c] See Vitringa in Isai. vol. ii. p. 220. Grotius de Ver. R. C. v. 7. Blackwall, Sacr. Class. p. 149. Clarke, Serm. iv. vol. i. The comparative degree ἀθανατώτερος is used by Plato in his Phædo, and Sympos.

[d] In like manner it is said of Christ, that he is 'a priest for ever,' and 'hath an unchangeable priesthood,' Heb. vii. that is, he is a priest, as long as the office can subsist, as long as there are men for whom he may intercede, and whom he may reconcile to God, as long as the world endures.

[e] See Whitby on 2 Tim. iv. 1.

ture; and an eternal obligation will lie upon them to offer up to him the just returns of love and gratitude, of reverence and adoration, through all ages; according to those forms of thanksgiving in the Revelation. 'Blessing and honour and glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.—Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.'

We are taught to pray daily that the kingdom of God, or of Christ, may come; in which words we pray that the gospel of Christ may flourish more and more, and that the number of his servants may increase continually. But to pray for this is not enough; we cannot indeed pray for it with any sincerity, unless we use our best endeavours to accomplish these pious wishes.

Setting aside the injudicious, inhuman, and infamous methods, by which too many have pretended to do God service, we shall find that there remain only the following ways by which we may promote the enlargement of our Lord's kingdom; and they are ways in which every Christian, more or less, is capable of performing his part.

First, an endeavour to understand the gospel, that we may be able to teach those who are committed to our care and placed under our authority, to remove the doubts of the unstable, to dispel the errors of the mistaken, and to answer the objections of adversaries.

Secondly, a readiness to countenance and assist any attempt which is made to propagate the gospel, or to instruct the young, the poor and the ignorant, when we have reason to hope that they shall be instructed in the religion of Christ, not in fanaticism and enthusiasm.

Thirdly, a disposition to think and speak favourably of those who believe in the same Lord and Master with us, though their belief be not exactly conformable to ours, especially when they think and speak favourably of us[f].

Fourthly, rational notions of the gospel, which will teach us to represent it as a religion in which all things

[f] Taylor, Libert. of Proph.

necessary to be believed or done are delivered with sufficient clearness, as a religion which consists principally in purity of heart, in morality, in goodness, in righteousness, in the love of God and of mankind, as a religion in which charity takes the upper hand of faith and hope and knowledge, and is the most excellent of all accomplishments [5].

Lastly, a life conformable to the religion which we profess, which would do more towards recommending our Christian faith to the bulk of mankind, than all that we can say in behalf of it. The want of this hath been an impediment to the progress of Christianity, a scandal and a stumbling-block in the way of unbelievers.

They object to us, that since we say and do not, either our religion is impracticable, or we believe nothing of it, and by our behaviour acknowledge it to be false.

To which we might make more than one reply;

We might say that the heart and the understanding of man are frequently at variance; that he often acts contrary to his judgment and conscience; and therefore it must not hastily be concluded that he rejects the doctrines which he does not practise.

We might say that every age which has passed since our Saviour's time, especially the earliest ages of the church, afforded eminent examples of Christian piety.

We might say that religion is what it is in itself; must stand, if it stand, by its own intrinsic merit, and by the evidence which accompanies it; that its truth and value are

[5] Πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα· Chrysost. Hom. 36. in 1 ad Cor.
Non multum tibi nocebit transisse quæ nec licet scire, nec prodest. Involuta veritas in alto latet. Nec de malignitate Naturæ queri possumus: quia nullius rei difficilis inventio est, nisi cujus hic unus inventæ fructus est, invenisse. Quicquid nos meliores beatosque facturum est, aut in aperto, aut in proximo posuit. Seneca de Benef. vii. 1.

Ne curiosus quære caussas omnium,
Quæcunque libris vis Prophetarum indidit
Afflata cœlo, plena veraci Deo:
Nec operta sacri supparo silentii
Irrumpere aude, sed prudenter præteri.
Nescire velle, quæ Magister optimus
Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.
Jos. Scaliger.

See Whitby on Acts viii. 21. Tit. i. 2.

no more lessened by the ill use which men make of it, than the beams of the sun are diminished, when we shut our eyes to his light.

We might say that Christianity, though it produceth not all the happy effects which were to be wished, yet prevents and restrains many evils, and is the cause of much good in the world, as we have already showed in several instances.

But the best answer of all would be to forsake our sins and amend our ways; and then our good actions would speak for us, and wipe off this imputation cast upon our faith and our religion.

It was a singular honour and advantage to the cause of Christianity, that its antient writers[h], in their apologies for it, could address themselves to the Romans in such words as these; 'We are grown so many in number, that, if we were only to withdraw ourselves from your dominions, we should ruin you, you could not subsist without us. Yet is our innocence as remarkable as our increase. Your jails swarm with criminals of your own religion; but you shall not find there one Christian, unless he be there because he is a Christian, and purely on account of his faith.'

Every one who believes the gospel should consider himself as a subject of Christ's kingdom, and remember that he is not admitted into it to provide only for his own future welfare, and to neglect the interest of the society to which he belongs. He should account it his duty, his honour, and his happiness, to increase the number of his fellow-subjects; and to this purpose he should be ready to employ his reputation, his learning, his abilities, his authority, and his fortunes. To turn men from sin to righteousness, and to enlarge the kingdom of God upon earth, is an office of such dignity and importance, that our Lord descended from heaven to execute it; and blessed is that servant, whom, when he cometh, he shall find to be, or to have been, so occupied,

[h] Tertullian, Minucius Felix, &c.

IV.

THE FITNESS OF THE TIME WHEN CHRIST CAME INTO THE WORLD.

THERE are many prophecies in the Old Testament relating to the Messias, some of which point out a certain time when he should appear.

It was foretold by Haggai[i] and by Malachi that he should come whilst the temple stood. It was foretold by Daniel that the kingdom of the Messias should be set up in the time of the fourth kingdom, which was the Roman empire, and that he should appear about four hundred and ninety years after the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

These prophecies were accomplished in our Saviour, who honoured the temple with his presence, after whose death and according to whose prediction that temple was entirely destroyed, the Jewish government was dissolved, and a dispersion of that people ensued which still continues.

At the time of his appearance there was a general expectation amongst the Jews of a Messias. In the New Testament mention is made of persons who waited for the consolation of Israel, who looked for redemption in Jerusalem, who thought that the kingdom of God, or of the Messias, should immediately appear. We find that it was the judgment of the learned also, of the chief priests and scribes. When John the Baptist entered into his ministry, the Jews sent priests and Levites to ask him whether he were the Christ.

[i] ii. 9.

It may be objected that Christ came not whilst the second temple stood, but after the third temple had been built by Herod, and that consequently the prophecy of Haggai was not accomplished in him. But the Jews always accounted Herod's temple as the second temple, and always called it so; and what Herod did, might well be deemed rather a repairing and improving of the second temple, than the building of a third, because the daily sacrifice and the service of the temple never ceased during the work, nor was it taken down all at once. See the commentators on Josephus Ant. xv. 11. sect. 2, 3. and Grotius on Matt. xxiv. 1. and on Malach. iii. 1. and Le Clerc, Hist. Eccl. p. 197.

Herod was alarmed at the coming of the wise men [k], he inquired of the learned Jews where Christ should be born; and hearing that it should be at Bethlehem, he destroyed all the male children there under a certain age, hoping to cut off the Messias. He is charged by some, but it seems to be a mistake [l], with burning the genealogies of all the Jewish families, that the lineage of David, from whom the Messias was to spring, might be unknown; and it hath been said that he undertook to rebuild the temple, because it was thought that the Messias would perform that work.

A great number of impostors, false Christs and false prophets, taking advantage of this prevailing opinion, en-

[k] St. Matthew says that at the birth of Jesus, Herod was troubled, ἐταράχθη, and all Jerusalem with him, ii. 3. To which the author of the scheme of Lit. Proph. objects; 'How could all Jerusalem be troubled to hear their Messiah, or deliverer, was born; when the Jews at all times hoped and desired to see him?' &c. p. 35.

Herod and his friends, and all the irreligious Jews, when they heard that the Messias was come, ἐταράχθησαν, were moved, with grief and fear. The rest of the Jews, who wished for the Messias, ἐταράχθησαν, were moved with an anxiety made up of hopes, and fears, and uncertainty, and expectation. All therefore were put into a commotion, and had their apprehensions and uneasiness, but in some they were mixed with hope and joy.

Phædo, in the Dialogue of Plato which bears his name, thus describes the painful pleasure which he felt whilst he was conversing with Socrates for the last time—'Αλλ' ἀτεχνῶς ἄτοπόν τι μοι πάθος παρῆν, καί τις ἀήθης κρᾶσις ἀπό τε τῆς ἡδονῆς συγκεκραμμένη ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς λύπης, ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνος ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν. καὶ πάντες ὀλίγον παρόντες σχεδόν τι οὕτω διεκείμεθα.—καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ΕΤΕΤΑΡΑ'ΓΜΗΝ καὶ ὡ ἄλλοι. 'Sed affectus quidam plane mirus, atque insolita voluptatis simul et doloris permixtio me invaserat considerantem illi paullo post moriendum esse. Et quicunque aderamus similiter ferme affecti eramus,—atque ipse aliique *peturbati eramus*.'

Vix sum apud me, ita animus commotu'st metu,
Spe, gaudio, mirando hoc tanto, tam repentino bono.
Terent. Andr. v. 4.

——— animo spem turbidus hausit inanem.
Virgil. Æn. x. 648.

Euoe! recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Lætatur. Horat. Carm. ii. 19.

Spesque audaxque una metus, et fiducia pallens.
Statius, Theb. vi. 393.

&c. &c. &c.

[l] Eusebius, E. H. i. 7.

deavoured to impose upon the Jews. Many of these deceivers appeared from the days of Herod the Great to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Amongst the Romans also, and in the eastern parts of the world, there was an opinion that some extraordinary person should arise and rule the earth, which must have come in all probability from the Jews [m].

The Samaritans hated the Jews so much that they cannot well be thought to have borrowed the hopes of a Messias from that nation. That they entertained such hopes we read in the New Testament; which is also confirmed by the attempts of Simon Magus, and other Samaritan impostors.

Concerning the fitness of the time when Christ came into the world, the holy scriptures say little; and we can only offer conjectures, which ought to have no more of authority than they are found upon examination to have of probability.

1. Our Lord came when men had been prepared by a long series of prophecies to expect and receive him.

The promises of a Messias were at first more obscure, and, as the time of his coming drew near, more plain; and during the long interval between Adam and Malachi, different predictions concerning the person and the offices and the sufferings and the prosperity of the Messias were delivered, which contained many things seemingly irreconcileable, and yet accomplished in Christ.

As the knowledge of these predictions was in a manner confined to the Jewish nation, it pleased God to make their religion more known when the time of Christ's appearing drew near [n]. Before his coming, the Old Testament was translated into the Greek language, a language then [o], and long afterwards, the most universally under-

[m] Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. 5. Tacitus. Suetonius.

[n] Eusebius endeavours to prove that the Gentiles were indebted to the Jews on many accounts. Eccl. Hist. i. 2. et Præp. Evang.

[o] It is certain that the Romans took pains to propagate their language, and to establish its superior dignity; of which good proofs are collected by Bayle, Dict. *Claude*, p. 897. But in the time of Christ and his apostles, Greek was really the universal language. The New Testament is a proof of it, if proof were wanted; and this is one reason,

stood, whereby the Gentiles had access to sacred history and to the prophetic writings [P]: and it appears from the books of the New Testament, and from other writers, that many proselytes had learned of the Jews to worship one God and to obey the moral parts of the law of Moses, and that such persons were to be found in most nations of the known world [q].

2. Christ came when the Jews wanted the Messias as an instructor.

The Jews, who from the time of Moses to Malachi were seldom without a prophet, had none, as we can find, from the days of Malachi to the coming of our Saviour. The prophets used to be sent to them to reprove them for their faults, to require from them an observance of the laws of Moses, and to foretel the Messias: but the writings of the prophets were in their hands, and constantly read; and served for these purposes as much as any new messenger could have served, unless he had been one of superior authority to his predecessors. The Jews wanted no new prophecies concerning the Messias; they saw him pro-

amongst many others, which may be given why St. Matthew probably wrote his gospel in Greek. 'Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus: Latina suis finibus, exiguis sanè, continentur.' Cicero Orat. pro Arch. 'Quamdiu steterit aut Latinæ linguæ potentia, aut Græcæ gratia.' Seneca Cons. ad Polyb. 21. 'Sed nostra constitutio, quam pro omni nationè, Græca lingua—composuimus,' says Justinian, Instit. l. iii. tit. viii. 3. See Wetstein's N. T. p. 224. St. Matthew, v. 47, 48. says,—οἱ τελῶναι οὕτω ποιοῦσιν; Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι—That is: Be ye not τελῶναι, but τέλειοι. 'Videtur aut Matthæus vocem τέλειοι hic studio adhibuisse, ut τελώναις opponeret.' Wetstein. Add to this, that τελώνης and τέλειος both are derived from the same word, from τέλος. So again vi. 16. we find an antithesis in the words ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ὅπως φάνωσι—'Eleganter dicitur: Tegunt faciem, ut appareant,' &c. Wetstein. One thing which contributed to spread the language of the Romans, was their law; which, even when it was written in Greek, could hardly be understood by the Greeks, unless they had some knowledge of the Latin tongue, of εμαγκιπω, φιδει κομμιττω, ληγατον, ιντερδικτον, ἐξτραορδιναριος, . τυτωρ, κουρατωρ, πουπιλλος, and a thousand such words.

[P] But it must be owned that the Scriptures, even after this translation, were little known to many of the Gentiles for a considerable time. Greek and Roman historians, as Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius who is abridged by Justin, Strabo, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and others, seem to have been ignorant of Jewish Antiquities.

[q] Who were dispersed in all lands. See Josephus ii. p. 191. 407.

mised, as they thought, clearly in many places of the sacred books [r]. There was as little occasion for one who should press upon them an adherence to the ritual law; they observed it carefully, or rather superstitiously: but of two things they particularly stood in need; first, of instruction in the true nature of the ceremonial law; secondly, of receiving fuller assurances of a future state. The ceremonial law was given to the Jews, partly in condescension to their temper and capacities, and partly to keep them separated from the vices and idolatries of the Heathen. But their wrong opinions of it were attended with bad consequences: they esteemed it at too high a rate; they despised the Gentiles, and thought them excluded, in a great measure, from the favour of God, not so much for their vices, as because they were legally impure, and observed not the Mosaic rites; and consequently they entertained unsuitable notions of God and of morality. But the time was now approaching when their ceremonial law would be almost impracticable, when the Romans would deprive them of those small remains of liberty which they possessed, would destroy their temple, drive them out of their land, and disperse them into all nations. It was therefore necessary that they should be taught that their ceremonies were no longer of importance, that God was no respecter of persons, and that all good men were his children; that a Jew might perform his duty in another country as well as in Judæa; that he might converse indifferently and freely with all the sober and virtuous; that he ought to think himself a citizen of the world, account every man his neighbour, and love him as such.

The doctrine of universal love and charity was very necessary to be inculcated to Jews and Gentiles. Many Pagans of great renown had carried the love of their country to a vicious excess, and had not scrupled to injure and oppress other nations, that they might advance the power and glory of their own. The Romans had not been free from this fault; the Lacedæmonians had been scandalously guilty of it [s].

[r] See Le Clerc de l'Incréd. p. ii. c. 7.

[s] See Plutarch in Agesil. et Alcibiad. Thucydid. l. v. Grotius de

The doctrine of a future state had not been delivered in a full, clear, and satisfactory manner, in the law or in the prophets [t]. The Sadducees rejected it, supposing it not to be contained in the sacred books; and the Pharisees and Essenes [u], who admitted it, founded their belief upon consequences drawn from some expressions in Scripture upon tradition, and upon such arguments as their reason suggested, and had mixed together some true and some false notions about it. The express promises made in the law to the righteous were of temporal good things, and these promises began to be less and less fulfilled, to the disappointment of many pious persons, who scarcely knew how to reconcile these ways of Providence with the holy Scriptures. It was therefore expedient that they should be taught by the Messias, that as the Jewish commonwealth, with its political and ceremonial laws, would soon cease, God interposed no longer in their behalf, but invited the Jews and the rest of mankind to a more sublime and spiritual religion, and would bestow upon his servants a recompense infinitely surpassing all that this unhappy world can bestow.

3. About the time of Christ's coming, religion and morality were universally corrupted, and greatly wanted reformation. The Jewish church was overrun with error and superstition: the precepts of God, and the rules of

Jure B. Proleg. 3. 23, 24. and Le Clerc Art. Crit. i. 429. Sublatâ hominum concordiâ, virtus nihil est omnino. Quæ sunt enim patriæ commoda, nisi alterius civitatis aut gentis incommoda? id est, fines propagare, aliis violenter ejectis, augere imperium, vectigalia facere majora. Quæ omnia non utique virtutis, sed virtutum sunt eversiones. In primis enim tollitur humanæ societatis conjunctio, tollitur alieni abstinentia, tollitur denique ipsa justitia, quæ dissidium generis humani ferre non potest, et ubicumque arma fulserint, hinc eam fugari et exterminari necesse est. Verum est enim Ciceronis illud: 'Qui autem civium rationem dicunt habendam, externorum negant, dirimunt hi communem humani generis societatem; quâ sublatâ, beneficentia, liberalitas, bonitas, justitia funditus tollitur.' Nam quomodo potest justus esse, qui nocet, qui odit, qui spoliat, qui occidit? Quæ omnia faciunt, qui patriæ prodesse nituntur. Lactantius Inst. Div. vi. 6.

[t] Tillotson, vol. i. serm. xxiii.

[u] 'Essenes & Therapeutæ;' men who seem to have been but one remove from those who, by the Roman laws, were 'ad agnatos et gentiles deducendi.'

equity and common sense, gave place to doctrines of men, to traditions contrary to them both. The most considerable and the most learned were those who were the most depraved in their opinions, and in their practice; and they who should have taught the truth to others were blind guides, deluding those who relied upon them.

We may judge of the state of the Gentile world at that time, by the state of that considerable part of it which belonged to the Roman empire. Public spirit, a love of their country, disinterestedness, frugality, sobriety, a desire of reputation, and a contempt of wealth, had contributed to make the Romans great; but their successes proved their undoing, and their national good qualities forsook them: their power still continued, nor could it be soon destroyed; but the remains of virtue, and their liberty, fell together: they learned the vices of those whom they had conquered, and taught them theirs in exchange. Such was the condition of the Gentile world when our Lord sent forth his apostles to instruct and reform them.

4. Though the Heathen were then greatly corrupted in their lives, yet knowledge was considerably increased, and upon this account it was a proper season for our Lord to appear. Truth and learning are friends; error and imposture flourish under the protection of ignorance. When the gospel was offered to mankind, the teachers of it had adversaries, who wanted neither inclination nor abilities to oppose it. To make its way at such a time, and to bring over not only the lower sort of people, but also some of the learned, who turned its own weapons against Paganism, this was an honour to the Christian religion, and one proof of its truth.

5. At the time when our Lord came, the insufficiency of the Jewish religion [w], of natural religion, of antient tradition, and of philosophy, fully appeared.

The Jewish religion [x] was never designed to be universal

[w] See Le Clerc, Hist. Eccl. p. 113.

[x] Eusebius observes, ὅτι Μωσέως νόμος μόνῳ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς οἰκοῦντι ἀποδέδεικται, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο

or perpetual; it had also other defects, which appeared the plainer when it was compared with the Christian religion.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews shows at large that the Christian institution ought to take place of the Mosaic, upon account of the comparative weakness and unprofitableness of the first covenant.

The insufficiency of the Jewish revelation appeared also, in some measure, from that general corruption which had overrun it, of which mention has been already made.

Concerning the insufficiency of natural religion, we may observe, that since natural religion consists of those duties which human reason can discover, reason and natural religion may here be considered as one and the same thing. There have been many disputes about the sufficiency or insufficiency of human reason. Human reason seems to have its sufficiency in one sense, and its insufficiency in another. The sufficiency of human reason is this; that every one may find out as much as God requires from *him*. Men, according to the place and age in which they live, the opportunities and the natural abilities conferred upon them, must differ extremely in knowledge; but every one may know all that God expects of him, which is, that he should inform himself of his duty to the best of his power, and act suitably to his judgment and to the dictates of his conscience.

The insufficiency of human reason, or natural religion, consisted in this: religion was so corrupted by fables and forgeries, and so obscured by the doubts and disputes of the learned, that it lay buried under falsehood and uncertainty, and was not to be retrieved without great difficulty.

And, if we may judge of the powers of reason by the discoveries of this kind which reason ever made, we shall

ἑτέρου προφήτου, καὶ ἑτέρου νόμου προσεδέησε. 'Quod Mosaica lex uni Judaicæ genti accommodari poterat, et huic ipsi propriam terram incolenti duntaxat: quodque idcirco altero propheta, alteraque lege opus fuerat.' Demonst. Ev. i. 1.

find, that though several persons determined justly on several moral subjects, yet there was not one of them who did not fall into some mistakes in matters of morality and of religion.

Concerning the insufficiency of tradition, we may observe that religion, as it stood in the heathen world, was not barely the result of reasoning; but that a considerable part of it was made up of truths received by tradition from the remotest antiquity. Before learning flourished, before the arts of disputing were cultivated, the general opinion was, that one God and Father of all had formed the universe, and that the soul subsisted after it had left the body, and was happy or unhappy according to its past behaviour. These notions were so early, that the origin of them could never be discovered. But as the Gentiles were at a loss to know whence these traditions arose, so neither did they receive them pure and unmixed, nor could they restore them to their natural simplicity; by length of time they were debased, darkened with lies and fables, and therefore grew insufficient for religious purposes, and became weak incitements to virtue.

When natural religion and tradition were thus corrupted, there remained only one human method of retrieving them, and that was philosophy. This method had been tried, and was found deficient.

For the philosophers themselves were not free from gross mistakes, from many defects both in principles and practice[y]. Besides, the corruption was too general to be cured by philosophy, which was not calculated for the benefit of the common people, nor understood by them[z]. Add to this, that those learned moralists used to

[y] Grotius on Rom. i. 32. mentions the pernicious doctrines of some philosophers. Some of them had loose notions concerning the lawfulness of lying and of fornication. Whitby on Ephes. iv. 25. v. 6. 1 Thes. iv. 5. Grotius on Acts xv. 20. As to practice, see what Cicero says of them, Tusc. Disp. ii. 4. and the writer of the Clement. Homil. v. 18; and Grotius de Ver. R. C. ii. 18. and Whitby on 1 Thes. ii. 9.

[z] Horace tells us that his father used to say to him;

> ..... ' Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
> Sit melius, caussas reddet tibi: mî satis est, si

recommend virtue from its natural beauty and decency[a], and to insist chiefly on this motive, which, though it may weigh much with some well-disposed minds, yet must have little influence upon the bulk of mankind, who will not be moved, unless their fears or their hopes be strongly affected.

The philosophers, by their endless disputes and divisions[b], darkened many truths, and taught nothing so effectually as doubt and suspense. Instead of opposing the vulgar superstitions, they often complied with them, and outwardly conformed to the established religions. These and other disadvantages under which philosophy laboured, show that it had little effect towards a reformation of sentiments and manners. What it could do, it had done before the coming of Christ. It had been tried, and it had been found insufficient.

6. Lastly, when our Lord came, the most civilized and the most populous parts of Europe and Asia were under one government, and ruled by common laws, which in the main were just and good[c]; the times were more quiet and

> Traditum ab antiquis morem servare, tuamque,
> Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
> Incolumem possim.' Serm. i. 4. 115.

The reasonings of the philosophers were jargon to this plain honest man: but he thought it right to follow whatsoever things were of good report.

'It is not possible,' says Strabo, 'to move the vulgar by philosophic discourses, and to lead them to piety, holiness, and fidelity; but it must be done by superstition also, and that requires fables and prodigies.' Οὐ γὰρ ὄχλον τε γυναικῶν καὶ παντὸς χυδαίου πλήθους ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ πίστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίας, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄνευ μυθοποίας, καὶ τερατείας. Here is something right, and something wrong. See l. i.

[a] See Miscell. Observ. vol. i. p. 33.

[b] Nimium altercando veritas amittitur.
In Publii Syri Sentent.

[c] Ἀνέτειλε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, ἐυτρεπίζοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ἵν' ὑπὸ ἕνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα· καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ προφάσαι τῶν πολλῶν βασιλειῶν ἄμικτον τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς αλληλα, χαλεπώτερον γένηται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ

happy than they had been, commerce flourished, and travelling was made easy and safe; and this state of things was favourable to Christianity, and afforded opportunities to lay the foundation of it, and to spread it speedily and effectually.

After the resurrection of Christ, for several years, the Romans were disturbed by civil commotions, and ruled by bad emperors, and so had no leisure to mind the progress of the gospel, and to oppose it, till the Christians were become too numerous to be destroyed.

ποιῆσαι ὅπερ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς. Orta est enim in diebus ejus justitia et abundantia pacis, idque statim ac natus est. Deus enim, cum gentes ad ejus doctrinam præparatus vellet, providit ut uni Romanorum imperatori parerent: ne, si plures essent reges, gentesque essent a se invicem alienæ, difficilius apostoli exsequerentur id quod illis a Jesu præceptum fuerat. Origen contr. Cels. ii. p. 79.

V.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

OUR Saviour and his apostles often assure us that all the prophets, whose writings are contained in the Old Testament, have spoken of the coming of the Messias; and upon this, though not upon this either singly or chiefly, is founded the truth of our religion; for it stands in need of no proofs of its divinity from the Old Testament, which seems to receive rather more confirmation from the gospel than the gospel receives thence, though they both mutually support and establish each other.

The prophecies in general were so delivered, that they should not be understood till the event explained them; for which many reasons might be assigned. Hence it comes to pass, that after they have been all fulfilled in Christ, and, by being compared together, have given much light and strength to each other; still many of them, considered by themselves, are not so irresistibly evident as to force an assent from stubborn minds, and room is left for contradiction, doubt or cavil. Some of them are more obscure and ambiguous, some more clear and full. It is reasonable to suppose, that, as the time of Christ's coming drew nearer, the predictions concerning him should be more distinct and plain; and so indeed they are.

Grotius[d] allows that there are texts in the prophets who lived after the captivity, which relate directly and solely to Jesus Christ. His acknowledgment of this is of the more weight, because he cannot be charged with wresting the Scriptures to that purpose, and hath been blamed for explaining away some prophecies which Christians apply to Christ.

[d] 'Christus,' says he, 'ut jam appropinquans, apertius a prophetis indicatus est.' Heb. viii. 8.

That Christ was foretold by the prophets, may be showed, I think, without an accurate discussion of single texts.

There are, it may be, an hundred different passages in the Old Testament relating to some person, whosoever he be, one or more, and to certain considerable changes which should happen in the world. Christians say that they relate to Christ, and some of them are produced in these discourses [e]. History, sacred and profane, antient and modern, will furnish us with a variety of heroes, kings, warriors, philosophers, and illustrious persons. If we endeavour to apply these passages in the Old Testament to any one of these great men, for example, to Judas Maccabæus, to Confucius, to Socrates, to Solon, to Numa, to Scipio Africanus, to Augustus Cæsar, &c., we immediately see that it is a vain attempt; that three fourths of them are no ways suitable to his character and his deeds, and that it is easy to select many single ones amongst them which cannot possibly be adapted to him. If we apply them to Christ and to the religion established by him, a surprising correspondence immediately appears.

To ascribe these coincidences to chance, it is to give a very poor and unsatisfactory account of them. He who can believe that chance produced them, ought not to object credulity to Christians [f].

Our Saviour, in his discourses with the Jews and with his disciples, made use of four proofs to show that he was sent from God.

The first, upon which he seems to lay the greatest stress, was taken from the miracles which he wrought. 'The works which I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me. If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin.'

The second was taken from the prophecies which were fulfilled in him. 'If ye had believed Moses, ye would

[e] He who would see more may consult Fabricius, De Ver. Chr. Rel. p. 569. and Huetius, Dem. Ev. prop. vii.

[f] See Remarks on Eccl. Hist. in this volume, where the subject is treated more fully.

have believed me, for he wrote of me. Search the Scriptures—for they testify of me.'

The third was his foreknowledge of future events[s]. 'Now I tell you before it come, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.'

The fourth was the testimony of John the Baptist, concerning which our Saviour thus reasons with the Jews: 'If I bear witness of myself,'—if I produce no proof of my divine mission besides a bare affirmation of it,—'my witness is not true,' and I deserve to be rejected.

There is another that beareth witness of me, namely John the Baptist; and that he testified of me ye know; for 'ye sent unto John, and he bare witness of the truth. But I receive not testimony from man.' I stand in no need of the witness of John, or of any other man.

I put you in mind of it, because 'he was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.' You used to acknowledge him to be a prophet and a righteous man; and therefore I insist upon his testimony, hoping that it may have some good effect upon you.

'But I have greater witness than that of John; for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me.'

This proof taken from the testimony of John, though our Lord speaks, in a manner, slightingly of it, when he compares it to the proof drawn from his own miracles, yet was an argument of particular force to the Jews, and could not fail to convince or to confound them: for, as we read in another place, they durst not openly speak against John, because the people generally had him in esteem, and thought him a prophet. A proof, therefore, from his testimony would either remove their doubts, or reduce them to silence.

But that the argument, considered in itself, is satis-

[s] Eusebius seems to have written a book to show that all the predictions of Jesus Christ had been accomplished. But that work is lost. See Præp. Ev. i. 3. p. 8.

factory, I shall endeavour to show in the following manner:

I. I will produce the testimony which John bare of Jesus Christ.

II. I will give some account of the life and character of John.

III. I will thence show that he is an unexceptionable witness.

IV. I will endeavour to remove an objection which may be made to his testimony.

I. I will produce the testimony which John bare of Jesus Christ.

When John baptized the people, he exhorted them at the same time to believe in one who should come after him, whose servant or disciple he was not worthy to be: he told them that this person should baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire; which prediction was first accomplished at Pentecost, when Christ sent the Holy Ghost on his disciples.

When Jesus came to be baptized, John knew him, and declined to perform that office, alleging that it became not so considerable a person to receive baptism from him. After Christ was baptized, the Holy Ghost descended upon him, and God, by a voice from heaven, declared him to be his beloved Son. This John saw and testified; and added, that God had revealed to him that this was he who should baptize with the Holy Ghost.

When the priests and Levites came to ask John who he was, he declared that he was not the Messias, but his forerunner, and the person foretold by Isaias; and he told them that the Messias was at hand, and would soon manifest himself.

After this John took all opportunities of making Jesus known to his own disciples, and to the Jews. He calls him 'the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.' He says of him, 'This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me;' that is, though he was born after me, and enters into

his office after me, yet he is before me both in dignity and time.

Afterwards, when Jesus was baptizing the Jews by his disciples, and many resorted to him, the disciples of John, jealous of the honour of their master, complained to him that Jesus drew away the people to himself, and took upon him the office of baptizing them. Upon this John, with great sincerity and modesty, declared how much he was inferior to Christ: he reminded them how often he had said that he was not the Messias, but his forerunner; he told them that his office would soon expire, and that Christ, who then began to appear, should obscure his glory; which was to him a cause of joy, not of envy: he told them that Christ was the beloved Son of God, sent by him, and receiving from him the Holy Spirit without measure, to reside upon him at all times, and to direct him in all things; that therefore whosoever believed on him should have everlasting life, and whosoever rejected him should not see life, but the wrath of God would abide upon him.

Thus is John the Baptist a witness of Christ, of his office and dignity; he calls Christ the Son of God, and the redeemer of the world; he affirms that he had a being before he appeared on the earth, that he came from God to teach men the way to obtain eternal life; he asserts that he saw the Spirit descend upon him, and heard the voice from heaven, which declared him the Son of God. He says that God, who had sent him to baptize, had revealed to him that Jesus was the Messias, having told him by what signs he might distinguish and know him.

II. To show what opinion we ought to entertain of John, I proceed to give some account of his life and character.

The circumstances attending his birth are related at large by St. Luke. I shall not recite them at present, but only observe, that from them it manifestly appears that he was designed by Providence for great purposes. All men, as we are told, were astonished at those things, and great expectations were raised concerning a child so favoured of heaven.

One reason why his birth was accompanied with many extraordinary events, seems to have been this.

Our Lord hath given an illustrious testimony to his merit. He says that he was a burning and a shining light, that he was a prophet, and more than a prophet, that amongst those who were born of women there had not arisen a greater than he. Yet, great as he was, in this he was inferior to many of the prophets, and to the disciples of Christ, that he wrought no miracles. This power was withholden from him, that the difference between the Messias and his forerunner might manifestly appear, and Christ alone might possess that honour.

But that the Jews might not be tempted to entertain any prejudice against him, and to think him an inconsiderable person, because he wrought no miracles, other singular marks of divine favour were bestowed upon him: his coming was foretold by the antient prophets, and his birth was promised by an angel, at a time when his parents were stricken in years; and other miraculous circumstances concurred to recommend him to the esteem of the people.

He dwelt in the hill-country of Judæa, in a place remote from the resort and the corruption of the world, till he appeared in his ministry, and came near Jordan and Jerusalem, preaching the approach of the Messias. His life was austere and mortified, as his food and dress showed; he came neither eating nor drinking, as Jesus said of him: upon which account some of the Pharisees, whom no behaviour could please, said that he had a devil. He flattered not the Jews, he spake to them as one having authority, he rebuked them for their faults; he exhorted them to the exercise of piety towards God, of justice and mercy in their dealings with each other. Great multitudes came to him, confessed their sins, and received baptism of him as a sign of their repentance[h]; and such was the opinion

[h] Though the success of the ministry of John had been less than it was, yet might he not improperly be said 'to turn the hearts,' &c. and πάντα ἀποκαθιστᾷν, as he did all that was necessary for it. Verbs active sometimes signify a design and endeavour to perform a thing, whether it be accomplished or not. See Le Clerc and Whitby on Mark ix. 12, 13. and Grotius on 2 Thes. ii. 4.

which they had of him upon account of his sanctity and self-denial, that, though he wrought no miracles, they believed and acknowledged him to be a prophet, and thought that possibly he might be the Messias.

There were some of the Jews who joined themselves to him, and became his disciples. We find them mentioned in the New Testament, their frequent fasts, the jealousy which they had of Christ, and their fears that he should lessen the reputation of their master.

The virtue of John, too great for the age in which he lived, and the esteem which the people had for him, were the occasion of his death. Herod, whom he had reproved, being offended at the freedom which he had taken, and probably suspecting him on account of his popularity, had thoughts of killing him; but at the same time he feared that the people would resent it, and still retained some remains of respect for him. Whilst he was thus in suspense, having promised the daughter of Herodias to give her any thing that she would ask, at her request he beheaded him. Thus the Baptist, having performed his office, died soon after Christ had begun his ministry. God took him then to himself, as an antient Christian writer

> Non si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
> Amice, places illacrimabilem
> Plutona tauris. Horat. Carm. ii. 14.

That is, 'placare tentes.'

> Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva tuentem
> Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimasque ciebat.
> Virgil. Æn. vi. 467.

That is, 'lenire tentabat;' for his endeavour was vain. By the way, 'torva tuentem lenibat animum' is a strange expression. Perhaps it should be 'animam;' the shade or ghost of Dido.

> Εἴ τις σε τὸν δίκαιον ἀυτίκ' ἐνθάδε
> Κτεῖνοι παραστὰς, πότερα πυνθάνοι' ἂν εἰ
> Πατήρ σ' ὁ καίνων, ἢ τίνοι' ἂν ἐυθέως;

Εἴ τις σε κτείνοι, 'if any one should attempt to kill you.'
Sophocles, Oed. Col. 1047.

—ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. ἔπειθεν 'persuadere conabatur.' Josephus, Ant. ii. xiii. § 4.

> Δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ' ἐυτυχεῖν κτείναντά με;
> Sophocles Ajac. 1145.

'Who endeavoured to kill me, and thought that he had killed me.'

observed [i], that the people might no longer be divided between him and Christ, but might the more readily follow the Messias.

The reputation of this prophet ended not with his life; the people continued to honour his memory, in so much that, when Herod had lost an army by a great overthrow, the Jews, as Josephus informs us [k], said that it was a divine judgment, and a just punishment inflicted upon him for putting John to death.

III. I proceed to show, thirdly, that the testimony of John the Baptist ought to be received.

He affirms that he knew Jesus to be the Messias; and this knowledge he acquires, not by any observations which he had made upon the life and behaviour of Christ, nor from comparing his actions with the prophecies relating to the Messias: for, at the time that he first gave his testimony, Christ had not discovered his divine mission, and was just entering upon his office; nor does it appear that Christ had declared any thing of it to him, or any way endeavoured to persuade him that he was the Messias. He is not guided by conjectures, but by sure and convincing evidence, by immediate divine revelation, and by a voice from heaven declaring Christ to be the Son of God. He assures us that God, who had separated him from his mother's womb for his own service, and who had sent him to go before the Messias and prepare his way, had also discovered to him that Christ was that person.

His record therefore depends upon his veracity, and his veracity appears unquestionable. Many circumstances concur to add weight and authority to his testimony, and to remove all suspicion of enthusiasm and imposture.

For, from the observations which have been already made on John the Baptist, on the testimony which he gave, and on the manner in which he gave it, from these we may discover the character of a great and a good man. We

[i] Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν Ἰωάννου ταχίστην γενέσθαι, ὥστε πᾶσαν τοῦ πλήθους τὴν διαθεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μετελθεῖν, καὶ μεκέτι ταῖς περὶ ἀμροτέρων ἑαυτοὺς σχίζεθαι γνώμαις. Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. xxviii.

[k] Antiq. xviii. 7.

see in him austerity of life, self-denial, contempt of the pleasures and vanities of the world, an active yet discreet zeal, a courage and constancy arising from true piety, and a sincere modesty and humility. He flattered not the Pharisees and Sadducees who came to his baptism, but told them that they were great sinners; he assumed no honours which belonged not to him; he said less of himself than he might have said with truth, when the Jews sent messengers to ask him whether he were the Messias, or some prophet. His disciples were probably good men, but they had an imprudent regard for him, and for their own credit, as they were his followers, and therefore they feared that Christ would draw all men after him, and lessen the reputation of their master; but he was not to be moved by such improper motives, nor did he cease to bear testimony to Christ, and to acknowledge his own inferiority. He was appointed of God to exhort and reprove with all authority; and this office he performed towards Herod, though he could not be ignorant of the danger to which he exposed himself in telling disagreeable truths to a wicked prince. By his blameless and upright behaviour he gained the respect and esteem of the Jews, bad as they were; and after his death, the historian before named, who seems to have had no temptation to be partial to his memory, did justice to his character, and recorded his virtues, and the impression which they made on the minds of the people.

He was a man who practised the austerities of a mortified life, who rejected even innocent pleasures, and appeared severely virtuous; who exhorted all men to righteousness, and lived suitably to his own doctrines. He could not act this part with a view to any worldly profit, and to enrich himself: he sought no such advantages; and if he had sought them, he would never have obtained them by such methods, by pretending to slight them, by dwelling in the wilderness, and by exhorting men to virtues, of which if he had not set them an example, he would have been greatly despised. Nothing therefore can be thought to have influenced him unless religion, or vanity and the love of fame. If he was guided by ambition, he had reason to be satisfied with his success: all

Jerusalem was moved at his preaching, and the people resorted to him, receiving his instructions and his baptism, and confessing their sins. They had so great an opinion of him, that they thought him certainly one sent from God; perhaps one of the old prophets returned into the world, perhaps the Messias himself. What use did he make of this favourable disposition of the people? He spake of himself with much lowliness and modesty, and exhorted them to acknowledge Christ as the Messias. If he had been a proud and ambitious man, he would not have set Jesus above himself; he would at least have been silent, and have left the Jews to judge for themselves.

We may then affirm that he was, what he seemed to be, a good man, and a lover of truth; and that he would not have deceived the people in any case; above all, not in a case so important. He decided a question not of small consequence, but concerning the Messias, whom the prophets had foretold, whose coming was then expected, to whom the nation was bound to pay obedience, who should in some sense be a ruler, and a deliverer, and the founder of an everlasting kingdom. If we suppose him capable of deceiving the Jews in this affair, we must suppose him wicked to the highest degree, one who feared not God nor regarded man; who endeavoured to lead into a fatal error his own nation, by which he was honoured and respected. But it is unreasonable to suppose him guilty of so foul a crime.

We may also conclude that he would not have borne testimony to one whom he did not well know to be the Messias, because common prudence would have kept him from throwing away so foolishly his good name and reputation. The character of the Messias could not be long personated by the most artful impostor. He was to be a teacher of truth and righteousness, in him the prophecies were to be accomplished, by him many miracles were to be performed. If, therefore, John had directed the Jews to a false Messias, to one in whom none of these characters appeared, his fraud or his error would have been discovered, he would have exposed himself to the punishment which a false prophet deserved; at least he would have lost the esteem and favour of the Jews, and the fair and unblemished

reputation which till then he had preserved, and been the object of their contempt and hatred. Nothing can make us suspect that he would have acted a part so inconsistent and extravagant, or hinder us from believing that he spake as he was directed by the Spirit of God.

Nor is it less evident that he acted on this occasion by no motives of interest or partiality. It was of no advantage to him: on the contrary, he saw, what his disciples saw, that if Christ were acknowledged to be the Messias, he would be no longer followed and admired. Nor can we suppose him partial out of friendship; for there appears not to have been any intimacy between him and Christ. We may observe that John was a person of eminent virtue, that he had borne witness to Christ, that he was related to him, and that upon all these accounts he seemed to deserve distinguishing marks of his favour. Yet Christ, as far as we can learn from the evangelists, seldom conversed with him; the reason of which probably was, that the testimony of John might appear of the more weight, when none could suspect him prejudiced for his friend and his relation.

But still it may be alleged against his testimony, that he was an enthusiast. Some of the Jews in the days of our Saviour said, that John the Baptist had lost his senses, because they had nothing else to say against him. The accusation is groundless: his discourses and his reputation sufficiently confute it; his prophetic character proves it to be false. He foretold the appearing of the Messias, the calamities which should befal the unconverted Jews, the death of Christ, and the descent of the Holy Ghost. Enthusiasm may make a man fancy extraordinary communications with the deity, and it may lead him to austerities and self-denial; but it will not enable him to declare future events.

IV. I shall, in the last place, endeavour to remove an objection which may be offered against the testimony of John.

It is related in the New Testament that John, when he was in prison, hearing of the miracles of Christ, sent two of his disciples to him, saying, 'Art thou he that should

come, or look we for another?' Hence it may be objected, that since John at the latter end of his life doubted whether Jesus were the Messias [1], the force of the testimony which he bare before is greatly weakened, and he may be supposed to have changed his opinion, and, as far as we can find, to have died uncertain what to think upon this affair.

In answer to this objection I would observe;

First, that the evangelists, who have recorded the testimony which John bare of Jesus Christ, have also preserved the doubtful message which he sent to our Lord, and which may seem to lessen the strength of his former testimony. This is one instance, amongst many more, of their sincerity in representing the truth without disguise.

Secondly; John the Baptist, at the beginning of his ministry, declared that Christ was the Messias; and afterwards, when he was in prison, he heard of the miraculous works done by Christ, which tended to confirm him in his first opinion. If at that time he began to grow doubtful, the only imaginable cause of his doubts must have been this, that Christ appeared not as a temporal prince, to free him from his bonds, and the Jews from their servitude. Since then his doubts, if he had any, must have arisen from his wrong apprehensions of the nature of Christ's kingdom, and of the happiness which the servants of the Messias should enjoy, they will never invalidate the testimony which he had so often borne to Christ, and the revelation made to him, upon which his testimony was founded.

[1] Tertullian thinks that John really doubted, Advers. Marcion. iv. 18. De Præscr. Hæret. 8. and Le Clerc inclines to the same opinion.

Limborch offers an interpretation of John's message, which, though I cannot adopt it, deserves to be mentioned. He says;

'John did not doubt; for Christ himself says of him at that time, that he was not like a reed shaken with the wind. His words may be thus read and explained; Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; 'Thou art (certainly) he that should come. Can we look for another?' (No.)'

'He therefore sent his disciples to testify that he was constant to his former declarations, though in prison, and expecting to die.' Theol. Christ. iii. 11. p. 219.

Thirdly; the words of John the Baptist, taken in their obvious sense, imply a doubt whether Christ were the Messias; but almost all expositors agree in thinking that he had no doubts about it, and that he sent not this message for his own information, because John, as himself asserts, knew Christ to be the Messias by divine revelation, and because he heard that Christ manifested his power by miracles, and had fulfilled that part of his character. They endeavour therefore to assign some other reason why he proposed this question to Christ.

The most common opinion is, that he proposed it for the information of his disciples, hoping that Christ would satisfy them by his answer, and perhaps by working miracles before them, and that they would at last lay aside their prejudices, and join themselves to Christ.

But there is another opinion, less followed indeed, and yet more probable; which is, that as the Jews in general, and the disciples of Christ [m], so also John and his disciples expected a temporal reign of the Messias, and that they wondered why Jesus, who at that time wrought many miracles, did not deliver John out of the hands of his enemies.

He, of all persons, seemed most to deserve such favour and protection. He was separated from his mother's womb, and appointed by divine Providence to be the forerunner of the Messias, to be the last and the most honoured of all the prophets who came before Christ; he was sent to bear testimony to him, and to prepare the world to receive him; and this office he had faithfully fulfilled; he was related to Christ, and in virtue had no superior amongst the Jews; he was now in bonds for the sake of righteousness, and his life depended upon the will of a wicked prince, who was exasperated against him. Being in these circumstances, and hearing of Christ's miracles, he sends two disciples to him, and bids them say, 'Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?' In

[m] Some of them had been disciples of John, and had learned nothing from him concerning the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, as appears Acts i. 6.

which words we may suppose that he indirectly besought his assistance; as if he had said:

If thou art the Messias, why am I confined in prison? why may I not enjoy, with thy disciples, the pleasure of seeing him, whose coming I proclaimed, appear in his glory? It will cast some reproach upon thee, if thy forerunner be left to perish. The miserable find daily relief from thy miracles; add one in favour of me, and deliver me, for thou canst not want power.

John and his disciples might not judge it prudent and safe to ask the assistance of Christ more openly, lest it should provoke Herod, if it came to his knowledge.

It is true that John was filled with the Holy Ghost, and had better notions of Christ than perhaps any of Christ's disciples entertained before the resurrection of their master. This we may conclude from the things which he spake of Christ's power and dignity, and of the end for which he came into the world. He calls him 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world;' which might incline us to imagine that he knew Christ should suffer and be a sacrifice for sin. But it is not improbable, that though by revelation he knew in general that Christ would save from their sins those who should believe in him, yet he knew not how he would effect it; that the particulars concerning the sufferings and death of Christ were not discovered to him, and that both he and the prophets before him might foretel things of the Messias which they did not fully understand.

The answer which Christ makes to John's disciples agrees very well with the exposition which is here given of John's message. 'Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me;' blessed are they who shall not be offended upon account of the low condition in which I appear, of the sufferings which I must endure, and of those which my servants shall undergo in this world.

Lastly; there remains another solution of this difficulty, to which some may perhaps give the preference[n].

John, for the reasons already mentioned, could not wel doubt whether the person whom he had baptized, and to

[n] But I should prefer the former.

whom he had borne testimony, were the Messias; but being in prison, and hearing the fame of Christ's miracles, he wanted to be satisfied of two things, whether Jesus were that very person whom he had baptized and proclaimed, and whether the rumour concerning his miracles were true. He sends, therefore, his disciples, and bids them ask Christ if he were the expected Messias, and bring him an account of all that passed upon that occasion, that by Christ's answer, and their report, he might form a surer judgment.

But whether John had or had not any doubts at the time when he sent the message, thus much is highly probable, that after the return of his disciples, he and they were fully satisfied; first, because Christ's answer and miracles were sufficient to convince any wise and good man; and secondly, because St. Matthew relates, that when John was beheaded, 'his disciples came and took up the body and buried it, and went and told Jesus;' which was plainly an act of respect and kindness, and the behaviour of men who entertained an honourable opinion of Christ.

VI.

THE SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE following observations relate to the truth, the importance, and the authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament.

I. The books of the New Testament were written by those to whom they are ascribed; that is, by apostles[o],

[o] Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὅ, τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα Ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί. 'Pro spuriis habendi sunt etiam Actus Pauli, et liber Pastoris titulo inscriptus, et Revelatio Petri: Barnabæ item Epistola, et quæ dicuntur Institutiones Apostolorum.' Eusebius E. H. iii. 25. Where Eusebius by the word νόθοις cannot possibly mean less than that these books were of ambiguous and contested authority. See Valesius, and Beverege, Cod. Can. Vind. l. ii. 9. and Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. i. 8. and Turner's Discourse on the Constitutions. The authority of Eusebius in points of this kind is great, and has been so accounted by all good judges. If the Διδαχαὶ Ἀποστόλων are not the Apostolical Constitutions, Eusebius never mentioned the Constitutions.

The Epistle of Barnabas is extant, and is sufficiently illustrated by learned men. Peruse him;—he shall speak for himself.

Clemens Alexandrinus often cites this Epistle; yet he scruples not to contradict its author, Pædag. ii. x. p. 221. as the archbishop observes in his notes.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* we find the following passage, vi. 24. 'It hath pleased God that the law of righteousness should not only be published by us (the apostles), but that it should be made conspicuous and illustrious by the Romans; for they also believing in the Lord have forsaken their idolatry and iniquity, and show favour to the righteous, and punish the wicked; but they have the Jews for tributaries, and suffer them not to exercise their own laws and ordinances.' Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης νόμον δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ Ῥωμαίων εὐδόκησεν αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι καὶ λάμπειν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πιστεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ πολυθεΐας ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἀδικίας· καὶ τοῦς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποδέχονται, καὶ τοὺς φαύλους κολάζουσιν. Ἰουδαίους δὲ ὑποφόρους ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις δικαιώμασιν οὐκ ἐῶσι κεχρῆσθαι. All this was true; but it was not true till all the apostles had been long dead.

or by believers who lived and conversed with the apostles. Of this we have as clear proof as the nature of the thing

The Constitutions strictly prohibit the reading of Pagan books: Τῶν ἐθνικῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἀπέχου. i. 6. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the maintainers of this opinion weak and ignorant persons. Indeed, if they were in the right, he was a great sinner. Οὐ λέληθεν δέ με καὶ τὰ θρυλλούμενα πρός τινων ἀμαθῶς ψοφωδεῶν, χρῆναι λεγόντων περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ συνέχοντα τὴν πίστιν καταγίνεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν καὶ περιττὰ ὑπερβαίνειν, μάτην ἡμᾶς τρίβοντα καὶ κατέχοντα περὶ τοῖς οὐδὲν συμβαλλομένοις πρὸς τὸ τέλος. Strom. i. 1. p. 326. See also Socrates Hist. Eccl. iii. 16. If the antient Christians had observed this precept, Julian would have had no occasion to forbid them to teach classic authors, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, &c. Epist. p. 192—195. Not only Christian writers reproached Julian for it, but Ammianus Marcellinus honestly condemned this spiteful and scandalous edict.

The lxxxvi. Apostol. Canon says, that the Constitutions ought not to be made public; ἃς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων. It must be confessed that this order was just and prudent, on many accounts.

See Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. 'Apostolical Constitutions considered.'

Concerning the Shepherd of Hermas, it is observable, that the persons who act in it are most of them allegorical persons, and ideal beings, such as appear in the Table of Cebes, and in the Hercules of Prodicus Ceus. An antient lady converses with him, and tells him that she is the Church of God. Afterwards several virgins come and discourse with him; and when he wants to know who they are, he is told by the shepherd-angel, that they are Faith, Abstinence, Patience, Chastity, Concord, &c.

There is a great conformity between Hermas and the author of the second book of Apocryphal Esdras; for a woman converses with Esdras, who, as the angel tells him, was Sion, or the Jewish Church: and as in the same book the woman vanishes away, and in her place appears a city; so in Hermas the church is represented to him under the image of a tower.

The prophets sometimes beheld, but it was in transient vision, such kind of persons. Zechariah saw Wickedness in the shape of a woman, ch. v. and St. John viewed Death and Hades, Rev. vi. 18. and the Church appearing as a woman, Rev. xii. 1. and Babylon as an harlot, Rev. xvii. 3.

It is related in Cyprian, Epist. 39. edit. Oxon. that the Church appeared in a vision, or dream, 'in visione per noctem,' to Celerinus, and commanded him to receive the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Add to this, that St. John, in his Second Epist. calls the church 'the Elect Lady,' by a prosopopœia, as some interpreters think; but the contrary opinion is more probable.

Afterwards, iii. 9. Hermas tells us that the Church which appeared to him was 'the Son of God.' The apostles represented Christ as the head, the bridegroom, the husband of the Church.

can admit, or any reasonable person can desire; namely, the testimony of all antiquity, of the Christian writers who

Hermas seems to have had some literature; for, though his subject did not lead him to show any learning, he accidentally discovers a little of it. He makes the angel say, Patr. Apost. ed. Cler. p. 99. 'Vide stillicidium, quod cavat lapidem.' So Lucretius i.

'Stillicidi casus lapidem cavat.'

But this thought is indeed very trite and obvious.

In the parable of the Elm and the Vine, p. 104. the angel says, 'Vitis hæc, nisi applicita fuerit ulmo, non potest multum fructum facere. Jacens enim in terrâ,' &c. which is very like the speech of Vertumnus in Ovid, Met. xiv.

'Ulmus erat contra spatiosa tumentibus uvis:
Quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit;
At si staret, ait, cœlebs sine palmite truncus,
Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet.
Hæc quoque, quæ juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo,
Si non nupta foret, terræ adclinata jaceret.'

The first Epistle of Clemens is in the main a good piece, and not unworthy of an apostolical father, though it has a few small spots, and possibly, as Edw. Bernard and some others think, a few interpolations.

The same may be said of the second Epistle of Clemens, if it be his. There is, indeed, a citation at the end of it, from the 'Gospel according to the Ægyptians,' which might as well have been omitted, and which perhaps was added by another hand.

The Epistle begins thus: Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ, ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν· ἐν τῷ γὰρ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μικρὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομεν λαβεῖν. 'Fratres, ita sentire nos oportet de Jesu Christo, tanquam de Deo, tanquam de judice vivorum et mortuorum; nec decet nos humilia sentire de salute nostra: dum enim humiliter sentimus de illo, parva etiam accepturos nos speramus.' I cite this place because it wants emendation, and should be corrected thus; — οὕ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τοῦ ΑΡΧΗΓΟΥ της σωτηρίας ἡμῶν· 'nec decet nos humilia sentire de *auctore* salutis nostræ.' This not only makes better sense, and agrees better with περὶ αὐτοῦ which follows it, but alludes to the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Clemens is observed to make frequent use in his uncontested Epistle. Hebr. ii. 10. τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν.

The writer of this Epistle seems, in the place which I have cited, to have had in view the Ebionites, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἤθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον: — 'qui humiliter admodum et abjecte de Christo sentirent. Eum enim simplicem ac vulgarem, nec aliud quam hominem esse censebant, qui profectu virtutis justus factus fuisset. Euseb. E. H. iii. 27.

Clemens in his first Epistle, vi. p. 151. Patr. Apost. says; Ζηλος

lived in or near those times, and of the antient heretics, and of some pagans.

II. The main parts of the Christian religion, enough, I mean, to establish the truth of it, may be found in almost each single book or treatise contained in the New Testament.

Take any of the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, or the Revelation [P], or any of the Epistles, two or three

καὶ ἔρις πόλεις μεγάλας κατέστρεψεν, καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξεριζωσεν, alluding, perhaps, to Horace:

Iræ Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere, et altis urbibus ultimæ
Stetere caussæ cur perirent
Funditus ———.

The spurious books under the names of apostles are not altogether useless. They show that the forgers in those days were men of poor abilities, and by their deformity they serve to set off the writings of the apostles. None of these impostors keeps up the character which he assumes;

'Aut ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.'

P Dionysius Alexandrinus held the Revelation to be a sacred book, but was of opinion that it was not written by the apostle St. John, and that the language and manner of composition showed it to be of another person. His reasons may be seen in Eusebius, E. H. vii. 25. It must be owned that there is a difference of style between the Revelation and the Gospel; but the subject is also different. 'Il ne faut pas s'étonner que l'air de l'Apocalypse soit different de celui qu'on remarque dans les autres ecrits de S. Jean, parceque la matiere en est extremement differente. Pour la langue, outre les autres raisons qu'on en pourroit rendre, ne peut-on pas dire qu'estant relegué à Patmos, il n'avoit pas auprés de lui les mesmes personnes qu'il avoit à Ephese, pour se faire aider dans le choix des termes et des expressions? Et peutestre mesme que la chaleur de l'Esprit de Dieu le pressoit d'écrire promtement ce qu'il avoit vu, sans songer à une pureté et à une elegance qui n'est rien du tout devant Dieu.' Tillemont, Mem. Eccl. t. i. S. Jean, Not. 9. Tillemont's conjecture is founded upon a supposition which several persons will not admit; namely, that St. John wrote his revelation at Patmos.

They who think, with Sir Isaac Newton, that St. John wrote the Revelation long before the Gospel, may suppose that the apostle, when he composed the Gospel, had improved his style by conversing with the Greeks of Asia Minor.

The LXX, following closely the Hebrew phrase, abound remarkably with the conjunction ΚΑΙ. For example, Gen. iii. ΚΑΙ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις—

excepted; and if they be allowed to be genuine, and to give a true account of the things which they relate, the Christian religion must be acknowledged to be fully confirmed [q].

III. The books of the New Testament have descended to us uncorrupted in any thing material. This appears evidently from the citations which have been made out of them by Christian writers in all ages; from the high esteem

ΚΑΙ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ—ΚΑΙ λαζοῦσα—ΚΑΙ ἔδωκε—ΚΑΙ τῷ ἀνδρι—ΚΑΙ ἔφαγον—ΚΑΙ διηνοίχθησαν—ΚΑΙ ἔγνωσαν—ΚΑΙ ἔρραψαν—ΚΑΙ ἐποίησαν—ΚΑΙ ἤκουσαν—ΚΑΙ ἐκρύζεσαν—ΚΑΙ ἐκάλεσεν—ΚΑΙ εἶπεν—ΚΑΙ εἶπεν—ΚΑΙ εἶπεν, &c.

St. John, in his Revelation, imitates and copies this style. Thus, ch. xiii. ΚΑΙ εἶδον—ΚΑΙ ἐπὶ—ΚΑΙ ἐπὶ—ΚΑΙ τὸ θηρίον—ΚΑΙ οἱ πόδες—ΚΑΙ τὸ στόμα—ΚΑΙ ἔδωκεν—ΚΑΙ τὸν θρόνον—ΚΑΙ ἐξουσίαν—ΚΑΙ εἶδον—ΚΑΙ ἡ πληγὴ—ΚΑΙ ἐθαύμασεν—ΚΑΙ ἐδόθη—ΚΑΙ ἤνοιξε, &c.

But in his Gospel he hath another manner; he drops this excessive use of ΚΑΙ, and either makes use of the connections ΔΕ and ΟΤΝ, or writes ἀσυνδέτως, in a disjoined style, as ch. iv. 6. Ὥρα ἦν ἕκτη—ἔρχεται γυνὴ—λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς—ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς—λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ—ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, &c. Not ΚΑΙ ὥρα—ΚΑΙ ἔρχεται, &c.

But, besides antient testimony, there is also internal reason to conclude that the Gospel and the Revelation are the work of the same author:

Thus, John alone calls Christ Λόγος, 'the Word,' in the beginning of the Gospel, and in Rev. xix. 13.

John alone records that the Baptist called Christ 'the Lamb of God,' alone applies to him the direction concerning the Paschal Lamb, 'a bone of him shall not be broken,' alone describes him as 'the Lamb,' Revel. v. 6.

John makes great use of the words, λόγος, φῶς ἀληθινὸν, ἀλήθεια, μάρτυς, ὁ ἀληθινὸς, μαρτυρω, ζωὴ, ἀγάπη, ἀγαπῶ, in those writings which are ascribed to him.

John alone cites, 'They shall look on him whom they pierced,' in the Gosp. xix. 37. and Rev. i. 7.

John alone relates that a soldier pierced the side of Christ, and that blood and water came forth. xix. 34, and alludes to it, Epist. i. ver. 6. as some commentators suppose.

Rev. xxi. 27. Καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ποιοῦν βδέλυγμα———

Κοινὸν and ποιοῦν are neuters put for masculines, as in the Gosp. vi. 37. πᾶν ὃ δίδωσί μοι ὁ Πατὴρ, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἥξει· Grotius. And Epist. i. ver. 4. πᾶν τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ νικᾷ τὸν κόσμον.

Rev. xxii. 14. ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ——

and veneration in which they have ever been held; from the multitude of copies and early translations, which left no room to fraud or inattention to do them any important injury; and from the various readings themselves, which, for the most part, are of small consequence.

IV. The truth of the things contained in these books depends upon the integrity of the apostles, who did and endured so much for the sake of the gospel. The good character of the apostles is confirmed by the testimony of those many thousands who were converted by them; and the innocence and patience and great sufferings of these primitive Christians may be confirmed by the testimony of Pagan authors, and cannot, with any show of reason, be denied.

V. There never was a book which abounded more with internal proofs of the truth of its contents than the New Testament. A spirit of piety, charity, and disinterestedness appears through the whole. The evangelists, when they relate the same things, differ, or seem to differ, in small circumstances; they ingenuously confess the misbehaviour of the apostles upon some occasions; they have sometimes recorded [r] what the smallest degree of craft and

ἐξουσια, jus, as in the Gosp. i. 12. ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι. Grot.

Rev. xxii. 2. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν. The same expression is found in the Gosp. xix. 18. Some MSS. have in the Rev. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν, but it seems to be an alteration quite unnecessary. Aristot. cited in Constant. Lexic. ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς ἀκάνθης. Herodotus, ii. 176. ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάρου. Sophocles, Ajac. 731.—ὀνείδεσιν Ἥρασσον ἔνθεν κἀνθεν. Const. Apost. vi. 3. τὰ ὕδατα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν διαστήσαντα. Nothing is more common than ἔνθα καὶ ἐνθα. 'Hinc et hinc' is found in Virgil and other poets, and often in Seneca's Tragedies.

[q] In scripturâ Novi Testamenti, imo in solis libris Lucæ et Joannis ea continentur, quæ cuivis Christiano, cognitu, speratu, factu sunt necessaria; quia hoc sibi fuisse propositum, alter in præfatione, alter in conclusione operis, profitentur. Sed præter hæc multa sunt scitu utilia, multa ad regimen ecclesiæ etiam necessaria. Grotius, Annot. ad Cons. Cass. p. 628.

[r] A statuary works upon marble, an historian upon facts: both cut them to their fancy, and pare off all that will not serve for their pur-

dissimulation would have taught them to suppress[s]; they enter into a large and accurate detail of places, times, persons, and events, in which if they had mixed fraud and falsehood, it might easily have been detected.

Of all the proofs which the New Testament carries in itself of its truth, there are few stronger than those which may be taken from the discourses of Jesus Christ.

Eminent men are observed to have usually a style of their own. Whosoever examines the discourses of our Lord with attention, may find in them a certain character and way of speaking peculiar to him. This manner, by which he may be distinguished, consists in raising matter of instruction[t] and moral reflection from the things which were at hand, which presented themselves to him and to his audience.

Hence it is that his sermons to the people, and his conversation with his disciples, allude perpetually to the time of the year, or to the place where he was, or to the objects surrounding him, or to the occupation and circumstances of those to whom he addressed himself, or to the state of public affairs. Of this several examples might be produced. I shall instance in those which may be taken out of his sermon upon the mount.

In the spring, our Saviour went into the fields, and sat down on a mountain, and made that discourse which is recorded in St. Matthew, and which is full of observations arising from the things which offered themselves to his sight: for,

When he exhorted his disciples to trust in God, he bade them behold[u] the fowls of the air, which were then flying about them, and were fed by divine providence, though they did not 'sow,' nor 'reap,' nor 'gather into barns;' he bade them take notice of the lilies of the field[w], which were then blown, and were so beautifully clothed by the

pose. The writers of the New Testament stand remarkably clear from this imputation.

[s] See H. More's Theol. Works, b. vii. ch. 12, &c.

[t] In speaking 'pro re natâ.'

[u] Ἐμβλέψατε.

[w] Solomon, says he, οὐ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἓν τούτων.

same power, and yet toiled not, like the husbandmen, who were then at work.

Being in a place whence they had a wide prospect of a cultivated land, he bade them observe how God caused the sun to shine, and the rain to descend upon the fields and gardens, even of the wicked and ungrateful; and he continued to convey his doctrine to them under rural images, speaking of good trees and corrupt trees, of knowing them by their fruits, of wolves in sheep's clothing, of grapes not growing upon thorns, nor figs on thistles, of the folly of casting precious things to dogs and swine, of good measure pressed down, and shaken together, and running over [x].

Speaking at the same time to people, many of whom were fishermen, and lived much upon fish, he says, 'What man of you will give his son a serpent, if he ask a fish?' Therefore, when he said in the same discourse to his disciples, 'Ye are the light of the world; a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid;' it is probable that he pointed to a city within their view, situated upon the brow of a hill [y]: and when he called them 'the salt of the earth,' he alluded perhaps to the husbandmen who were manuring the ground [z]: and when he compared every person who observed his precepts to a man who built an house upon a rock, which stood firm, and every one who slighted his

[x] Matt. vii. 1. and Luke vi. 38.

[y] A few points towards the north appears that which they call 'the mount of the Beatitudes,' a small rising, from which our blessed Saviour delivered his sermons. Not far from this little hill is the city Saphet, supposed to be the antient Bethulia: it stands upon a very eminent and conspicuous mountain, and is seen far and near. May we not suppose that Christ alludes to this city in those words; 'A city set on a hill,' &c. Maundrell's Journey to Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, Nazareth, &c. stood upon hills.

[z] With dung, or with ashes, which abound with salts, or with which perhaps salt was mixed. 'Sale conspersa sterilescunt,' says Grotius, 'unde loca devota et humanis ademta usibus sale conspergi solebant.' Too much salt may render the earth unfruitful; but a little of it has a contrary effect: and I am told that salt is often used in manuring. Virgil, Geor. i. 193.

Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,
Et nitro prius, et nigra perfundere amurca,
Grandior ut fœtus siliquis fallacibus esset.

words to a man who built his house upon the sand, which was thrown down by the winds and floods; when he used this comparison, it is not improbable that he had before his eyes houses standing upon high ground, and houses in the valley in a ruinous condition, which had been destroyed by inundations.

Going from Bethany to Jerusalem, with his disciples, as they passed over a mountain he said, 'If ye shall say to this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done [a].'

He spake a parable concerning a nobleman who went into a far country to receive a kingdom [b], alluding to that which had happened to Archelaus [c].

When he says, 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called Benefactors [d],' he alludes to the vanity of some wicked princes in those times [e], who were 'magnifici

[a] Matt. xxi. 21. [b] Luke xix. 12.

[c] Christus hanc suam parabolam desumsit ex more regum ejus ævi, qui beneficio imperatorum regnabant, potius quam jure natalitium, quales ab Herode Magno in Judæa fuerant. Non poterant diadema sumere, nisi jussu eorum qui Romæ rerum potiebantur. Herodes ille longinquum iter suscepit, ut regnum Judææ ab Antonio impetraret, nec frustra; ivit enim ex Judæa Romam, ut docet Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiv. 25, 26. atque inde, τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών, accepto regno, in Judæam rediit. Iterum iter suscepit, ut sibi a Cæsare regnum confirmaretur, ut idem historicus docet xv. 10. Idem successores ejus facere coacti sunt, quod ab eodem scriptore discere est, xvii. 13. Contra hosce legationes interdum a Judæis Romam missæ, ut ne regnum illis conferretur, aut etiam auferretur. Sic Archelaum accusarunt Judæi apud Cæsarem, Romæ, per legatos. Hinc intelligimus rationem, ob quam ita parabola concepta est. Archelaus, exempli caussâ, erat homo εὐγενής, natus quippe ab Herode. Idem abiit in regionem longinquam (in Italiam) accipere sibi regnum (Judææ) et reverti (in Judæam). Cives vero, qui eum oderant, miserunt legationem post illum, dicentes (*apud Cæsarem*) nolumus hunc regnare super nos; quod non potuerunt tamen impetrare. Itaque rediit, accepto regno, ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβών, ut loquitur Josephus. Deinde de inimicis, qui noluerant eum regnare super se, gravem ultionem sumsit. Clericus.

[d] Luke xxii. 25.

[e] Hæc fuit inanis gloria principum illius ævi, ut Εὐεργετῶν vel 'Benefactorum' cognomen ambirent, eo ipso tempore, quo tyrannice populos regebant; populique proinde adulationis caussâ titulum hunc in eos conferebant, aut ut levis beneficii gratiam referrent. Principes ideo

latrones,' and deserved the title of robbers much better than of benefactors.

When the woman of Samaria wondered that he should ask water of her [f], he took occasion to represent his doctrine under the image of 'living water,' or water which flows from a spring.

When he was by the sea-shore, he spake three parables to the people concerning a sower [g], because it was then probably seed-time, as others have observed.

At the time of the Passover, alluding to it, he says, 'He that heareth my word' is passed 'from death unto life [h].'

When he spake of the fig-tree which had borne no fruit for three years, and was to be cut down if it produced none the next year [i], he alluded, perhaps, to the time that he had spent in preaching to the Jews, as well as to their obstinacy, and the punishment which would follow it.

'Christ and his forerunner John, in their parabolical discourses, were wont to allude to things present. The old prophets, when they would describe things emphatically, did not only draw parables from things which offered themselves, as from the rent of a garment [k], from the Sabbatic year [l], from the vessels of a potter [m], but also, when objects were wanted, they supplied them by their own actions, as by rending a garment [n], by shooting [o], by making bare their body [p], by imposing significant names

urbibus congiaria dividebant, aut eas ædificiis publicis ornabant, aliaque similia faciebant; nec tantum in regno suo, sed etiam apud vicinos. Ita se gesserat Herodes Magnus, non tantum in Judæa et vicinia, sed etiam in media Græcia, ut Athenis, Lacedæmone, Olympiæ, aliisque in oppidis, ut docet Josephus, Bell. Jud. i. 16. Exstat etiamnum Athenis—inscriptio basi statuæ, ut videtur, insculpta in honorem Berenicæ reginæ, de qua Act. xxv. in qua eam vocant Athenienses Ἰουλίαν Βερενίκην βασίλισσαν μεγάλην Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππα βασιλέως θυγατέρα, καὶ μεγάλων βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔκγονον. Cernitur idem titulus in nummis antiquis in multos principes collatus.—Clericus.

[f] Joh. iv.
[g] Matt. xiii.
[h] Joh. v. 24. μεταβέβηκεν. Grotius.
[i] Luke xiii.
[k] 1 Sam. xv.
[l] Isai. xxxvii.
[m] Jer. xviii.
[n] 1 Kings xi.
[o] 2 Kings xiii.
[p] Isai. xx.

on their sons [q], by hiding a girdle in the banks of Euphrates [r], by breaking a potter's vessel [s], by putting on fetters and yokes [t], by binding a book to a stone, and casting them both into Euphrates [u], by besieging a painted city [w], by dividing their hair into three parts [x], by making a chain [y], by carrying out household stuff like a captive and trembling [z]. By such kind of types the prophets loved to speak. And Christ, being endued with a nobler prophetic spirit than the rest, excelled also in this way of speaking; yet not so as to speak by his own actions, that was less grave and decent, but to turn into parables such things as offered themselves. On occasion of the harvest approaching, he admonishes his disciples once and again of the spiritual harvest [a]. Seeing the lilies of the field, he admonishes his disciples about gay clothing [b]. In allusion to the present season of fruits, he admonishes his disciples about knowing men by their fruits [c]. In the time of the Passover, when trees put forth leaves, he bids his disciples learn a parable from the fig-tree: when its branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh [d], &c. The same day, alluding to both the season of the year, and to his passion, which was to be two days after, he formed a parable of the time of the fruits approaching, and the murdering of the heir [e]. Alluding at the same time both to the money-changers whom he had newly driven out of the temple, and to his passion at hand, he made a parable of a nobleman going into a far country to receive a kingdom and return, and delivering his goods to his servants, and at his return condemning the slothful servant, because he put not his money to the exchangers [f]. Being near the temple, where sheep were kept in folds to be sold for the sacrifices, he spake many things parabolically of sheep, of the shepherd, and of the door of the

[q] Isai. viii. Hos. i.
[r] Jer. xiii.
[s] Jer. xix.
[t] Jer. xxvii.
[u] Jer. li.
[w] Ezech. iv.
[x] Ezech. v.
[y] Ezech. vii.
[z] Ezech. xii.
[a] John iv. 35 .Matt. ix. 37.
[b] Matt. vi. 28.
[c] Matt. vii. 16.
[d] Matt. xxiv. 32. Luke xxi. 29.
[e] Matt. xxi. 33.
[f] Matt. xxv. 14. Luke xix. 12.

sheep-fold; and discovers that he alluded to the sheep-folds which were to be hired in the market-place, by speaking of such folds as a thief could not enter by the door, nor the shepherd himself open, but a porter opened to the shepherd [g]. Being in the mount of Olives, a place so fertile that it could not want vines, he spake many things mystically of the husbandman, and of the vine and its branches [h]. Meeting a blind man, he admonished of spiritual blindness [i]. At the sight of little children, he described once and again the innocence of the elect [k]. Knowing that Lazarus was dead and should be raised again, he discoursed of the resurrection and life eternal [l]. Hearing of the slaughter of some whom Pilate had slain, he admonished of eternal death [m]. To his fishermen he spake of fishers of men, and composed another parable about fishes [n]. Being by the temple, he spake of the temple of his body [o]. At supper he spake a parable about the mystical supper to come in the kingdom of heaven [p]. On occasion of temporal food, he admonished his disciples of spiritual food, and of eating his flesh and drinking his blood mystically [q]. When his disciples wanted bread, he bade them beware of the leaven of the Pharisees [r]. Being desired to eat, he answered that he had other meat [s]. In the great day of the feast of tabernacles, when the Jews, as their custom was, brought a great quantity of waters from the river Siloah into the temple, Christ stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink [t]. He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. The next day, in allusion to the servants who by reason of the Sabbatical year were newly set free, he said, If ye continue in my word, the truth shall make you free: which the Jews understanding literally with respect to the present manumission of servants, answered, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in

[g] John x. 1. 3.
[h] Matt. xxvi. 30. Joh. xiv. 31. xv.
[i] John ix. 39.
[k] Matt. xviii. 2. xix. 13.
[l] John xi. 25, 26.
[m] Luke xiii. 1.
[n] Matt. iv. 10. xiii. 47.
[o] John ii. 19.
[p] Luke xiv.
[q] John vi. 27. 53.
[r] Matt. xvi. 6.
[s] John iv. 31.
[t] John vii. 37. See also Grotius.

bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free [u]?—And I doubt not but diverse other parables were formed upon several occasions, the history of which we have not.' Sir Isaac Newton [w].

'Observing the fruits of the earth, he instructs them to judge of men by their fruits, and not to be themselves unfruitful under all the means of grace [x]. Taking notice of their behaviour at a feast, he first gives general advice therein both to the master and his guests, and from thence brings them to the consideration of a better entertainment, to which they were all invited, but of which few amongst them would render themselves worthy [y]. From outward washing he leads them to the purifying of the heart, and cleansing the affections [z]. From tasting of the fruit of the vine after the Paschal supper, to the celebration of an eternal festival of freedom, rest, and happiness in another world [a]. From salt he takes occasion to acquaint them with the nature of their office, which was, to season the minds of men, and keep them from the contagion of this world, as well as give them a true taste and relish for the enjoyments of his kingdom; and at the same time reminds them of the absolute necessity for their duly executing this their office: otherwise, instead of being the best, the purest, and most useful, they would become the most worthless, and incurable, and contemptible among mankind [b]. Those that were fishers he teaches how to catch men; and shows them how far this would resemble their former employ-

[u] John viii.

[w] See Mr. Whiston's Remarks on Sir Is. N. ch. ix. in his Six Dissertations.

[x] Matt. vii. 16. Luke vi. 43. [y] Luke xiv. 7. 16.

[z] John xiii. 8.

[a] Matt. xxvi. 29. Luke xxii. 17, 18. Ex occasione vini conspicui et proprie dicti Christus docet discipulos se non amplius celebraturum cum iis ullam liberationem, nisi postremam illam qua ex omnibus malis resurrectione liberabuntur. Describit cœlestem illam hilaritatem 'potione vini,' non tantum quia hujus rei incidit mentio, paullo postquam vinum bibisset; sed quia 'bibere vinum' in Scriptura perinde est ac convivari, felicitas vero sub imagine convivii describitur. Addit 'vinum' hoc fore 'novum,' quia apostoli antea nunquam hanc felicitatem gustaverint. Sæpe Christus a rebus corporeis ad spirituales transiens eas iisdem vocibus exprimit. Clericus in Matt. xxvi. 29.

[b] Mark ix. 50. Luke xiv. 34.

ment, in taking of all kinds, both bad and good, which were at first inseparable, but would at length be carefully distinguished from each other [c]. Seeing the money-changers, he exhorts his disciples to lay out their several talents to the best advantage [d]. Upon the appearance of summer in the trees before him, he points out as evident signs of his approaching kingdom [e]. At the season of fruits, he puts the Jews in mind that the time was come when some would be expected from them, in return for all the labour that had been bestowed upon them; and intimates the judgment that would shortly overtake all such among them as were found unprofitable [f]. Upon hearing of some that were killed by the fall of a tower, and others put to death by the Roman governor in the midst of their sacrifices, he guards them against all misconstruction and rash censure in such cases, exhorts them all to take warning by these punishments, and foretells the general destruction of such as would not be persuaded to it; and which should be the more distinguishable, as coming with the very same circumstances [g]. From the temple before him, he points to that of his body, which was most properly so called from the Divinity residing in him [h]. In like manner I conceive him laying his hand on Peter, when he spake these words, Upon this rock [i], &c. From Herod's unadvisedly leading his army out to meet the king of Arabia, who came against him with superior forces, and defeated him, a lesson is laid down to all who entered on the Christian warfare, that they should first well weigh and carefully compute the difficulties that attended it, before they were engaged in a matter of such consequence [k]. From the robberies which were more particularly frequent in that age, he forms a beautiful story of a certain traveller, who fell among thieves [l]," &c. Dr. Law's Discourse on the Life of Christ.

[c] Luke v. 10. Mark i. 17. Matt. xiii. 47.
[d] Matt. xxv. 27. Luke xix. 23. 45.
[e] Luke xxi. 29. Matt. xxiv. 32.
[f] Matt. xxi. 33. Luke xiii. 6.
[g] Luke xiii. 1.
[h] John ii. 19.
[i] Matt. xvi. 18.
[k] Luke xiv. 31.
[l] Luke x. 30. Vid. Cleric. ib. ver. 36.

Of these observations concerning the style and genius of our Saviour's discourses, the following uses may be made.

We may conclude that the writers of the gospel have given us always the substance, often the words, of our Lord's sermons. They did not invent discourses, and ascribe them to him; as Plato, who is justly supposed to have often given his own thoughts and words to his master Socrates; and as Greek and Latin historians never scrupled to do, who introduce the great men of whom they write, making long harangues, of which they never uttered one word. If they had followed this method, they would probably have made for him discourses exhorting to virtue and dissuading from vice, in general terms; it would not have entered into their thoughts to have crowded together so many allusions to time and place, and to other little occurrences, which nothing besides the presence of the objects could suggest [m].

We may also plainly see in the discourses of Jesus Christ his great design, which was to instruct. Therefore he conveys knowledge in a familiar way; he adapts his language to his hearers: he speaks to their eyes, and to their ears; he chooses images and comparisons which would strike them most powerfully, and make a lasting impression upon their minds.

The words of Jesus Christ being thus supposed to be genuine, we may from them not unreasonably conclude that he was a prophet sent from God for the benefit of mankind.

In his discourses appear a profound veneration of Almighty God, an earnest desire of promoting his honour, noble and just sentiments of his power, wisdom, goodness,

[m] Mr. Huber remarque fort bien, qu'il paroit, par toutes les circonstances du jugement de Pilate, que toutes les regles du droit Romain y furent exactement observées; et que cela peut nous convaincre de la vérité de cette histoire. Des gens du petit peuple parmi les Juifs, tels qu'étoient les évangelistes, ne pouvoient pas être si bien instruits de cela; et s'ils n'avoient vû la chose, ou s'ils ne l'avoient apprise de témoins oculaires, ils n'auroient jamais pu la raconter, comme ils ont faits, sans dire quelque chose qui se trouveroit contraire à l'usage des gouverneurs, dans les provinces Romaines. Le Clerc, Bibl. Anc. et Mod. tom. xiii. p. 100. See also Huber. Dissertat.

justice, and providence, and a submissive resignation to his will under great afflictions.

From them may be gathered a system of most pure and strict morality, the observance of which, as our Lord declares, would expose his followers to many inconveniences and much ill usage, and should not be fully recompensed before the next state.

In them are seen his prudence and wisdom in exposing superstition and hypocrisy, in inducing men to repentance, sometimes by amiable representations of God's mercy, sometimes by awful declarations of his justice, and in shunning ostentation and applause.

In them appear charity, condescension, affability, love and pity to mankind.

From his discourses we may conclude that his behaviour was suitable to them; for, if his deeds had contradicted his words, he would have been despised, and could have made no disciples.

It was well observed by Origen[n], that amongst the many slanders which had been forged and uttered against Jesus by Jews and Gentiles, none had dared to accuse him of having offended in the slightest degree against purity and chastity, and that spite and calumny itself had spared that part of his character.

From his discourses, therefore, and his behaviour, as they are recorded in the gospels, we may conclude that he was, as he declared himself to be, the Son of God. If we should suppose him to have been an impostor and a false prophet, a character would arise full of such contradiction and inconsistency, of such prudence and folly, of such knowledge and ignorance, of such goodness and wickedness, as never appeared in the world before or since.

Another proof which the writings of the New Testament afford of their own authority, arises from the prophecies contained in them. We find there predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the conversion of the

[n] Οὗ μηδὲ οἱ μυρία κατηγορήσαντες, καὶ ψευδῆ ὅσα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες, δεδύνηνται κατειπεῖν, ὡς κἂν τὸ τυχὸν ἀκολασίας κἂν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐνσαμένου. Contr. Cels. iii. p. 132.

Gentiles by the speedy and extensive propagation of the gospel.

VI. If we should suppose that the writers of the New Testament had no extraordinary assistance from God in composing their books and epistles, the prophetic parts excepted, the truth of the Christian religion in general might still be proved; there would still be sufficient evidence that Christ came from God to teach men to live soberly, righteously, and piously, that he wrought miracles, that he died and rose again, that his apostles received supernatural powers by which they were enabled to propagate the gospel.

The writers of the New Testament were apostles, or companions of the apostles, who had conversed with Christ, who spent their time in converting men to the Christian religion, and in presiding over the Church; who preached a more perfect morality than had been taught before; who lived suitably to their own doctrines, and many of whom laid down their lives in testimony of the truth. Consequently we may esteem them honest men and faithful historians. But since an honest man may possibly mistake, not indeed in facts which he affirms to be true upon his own knowledge, but in inferences from those facts, in precepts and doctrines, or in delivering the sentiments of others, if we can say no more in behalf of the writers of the New Testament, their authority will be only human. There seems requisite something besides a good life and a mind purified from passion and prejudice, to qualify them to be the first teachers of a new revelation, namely, a divine assistance, which we call inspiration.

How far, and in what degree the apostles were inspired, is not easy to determine, nor, consequently, necessary to be known. Thus much we may affirm, that they were assisted of God [o] to give us a faithful account of the things which we ought to believe and to perform, that we may obtain eternal life [p].

[o] Spiritus sanctus apostolos et evangelistas confirmavit in doctrina evangelica: in cæteris rebus, ut hominibus, reliquit quæ sunt hominum. Grotius ad Act. vii. 3.

[p] The divine Providence hath not judged it proper to conduct us to

For (1.) The apostles had a promise of divine assistance upon certain occasions. 'When they deliver you up,' says Christ, 'take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' Whence we may reason thus: If the apostles were to receive from the Holy Ghost a skill to speak what was proper when they appeared in public to defend Christianity, we may suppose that they were guided by the same Spirit in their writings; because this was of greater importance, and more worthy of the divine interposition. By speaking justly they might confute some adversaries, preserve themselves and their religion from the contempt of their hearers, and convert and confirm that part of the assembly which had good dispositions; but their writings were designed for the service not of four or five hundred men, but of all ages and nations.

(2.) Our Saviour promised his apostles that the Holy Ghost should continually abide with them, that he should lead them into all truth, and that in particular he should bring to their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them; which will appear to have been necessary, if we consider that the gospels consist, in a great measure, of the discourses of Christ, that Christ conversed with

eternal life by operating irresistibly upon our heart, or by offering invincible evidence to our understanding, or by securing us from all mistake, or by delivering us from all doubt. The first teachers of Christianity were not appointed to publish an edition or translation of the Old Testament, which should correct every little transposition, &c., that had entered into it, nor to explain every prophecy and solve every difficulty contained in it, nor to give a catalogue of all the sacred books extant in their time, nor to explain some things which themselves have delivered obscurely and in part, nor to write books in which there should be nothing hard to be understood, and of uncertain signification. The divine Wisdom has not judged it necessary to preserve the copies of the New Testament from the errors of transcribers aud translators, or to raise up a succession of prophets to determine the controversies arising in the church. But the great truths of natural and revealed religion, and the great duties of life, and the divine power, wisdom, and goodness of Jesus Christ, and the miraculous and prophetic testimony of the Holy Ghost, and the sacred authority of the apostles, are clearly taught in the Scriptures, and supported with an evidence sufficient to satisfy a rational inquirer. For those whom this evidence will not move, God has provided no remedy.

them at least for three years, that they had at that time very imperfect notions of the religion which he came to teach, and of the office to which they should be appointed; and that, in all probability, they had not collected materials for the gospels [q], or set down his discourses, whilst he was with them.

(3.) Our Lord told his disciples that they were not then disposed to receive and understand some truths which the Holy Ghost should afterwards reveal to them; and the apostles have taught us some things which are not to be found in the gospels, or are not clearly delivered there; as the design and the abolition of the ceremonial law, certain relative duties, and some particulars concerning the worship of God and the regulation of Christian societies or churches.

It is therefore a vain distinction which some have attempted to make between the precepts or doctrines of Christ, and those of the apostles, as if less regard were to be paid to the latter than to the former. Our Saviour seems plainly to equal the apostles to himself, as teachers, commands all men to receive them, to hear them, and to pay the same deference to them as to him.

(4.) Lastly, the apostles [r], upon several occasions, affirm that they had an extraordinary guidance of the Holy Spirit; they declare that they had received their doctrines not from men, but from Jesus Christ, and that every one who pretended to inspiration must acknowledge this, or ought to pass for an impostor, if he owned it not. They say that they had the mind of Christ; they call their doctrine the word of God and of Christ, the commandment of God and of the Lord, the wisdom of God, the wisdom which God had revealed to them by his Spirit, and words which the Holy Ghost had taught them, the testimony of God, the Gospel of God, by which men should be judged: they assert that they are of God, that he who knoweth

[q] When Christ, after his resurrection, sent forth his apostles, he gave them no command to write.

[r] Rom. ii. 16. 1 Cor. ii. 7. 10. 12, 13. xiv. 37. Ephes. iii. 3. 5. 1 Thess. ii. 13. iv. 15. 1 Joh. iv. 6, &c. See Whitby, Gen. Pref. vol. i.

God heareth them, and that he who heareth them not is not of God.

VII. It cannot be denied that the Scriptures[s] are often obscure and difficult, as for example, where the subject is prophecy or controversy, where words and phrases are used which are not to be found in other authors, and are now become of uncertain signification; and where doctrines are revealed not fully, but in part. Besides the obscurity arising from the subject and the style, the Scriptures have other difficulties common to all books which are very ancient and written in dead languages.

But many parts of the Scriptures are clear, and particularly those which relate to morality[t], to practical religion.

When we say that the Scriptures are clear in many places, the meaning is, that they will be clear to those who take the proper methods to understand them, and seek instruction, and pray to God for direction and assistance, and are desirous to obey and please him.

Persons of dispositions equally good, will understand more or less of the Scriptures according to their several capacities and opportunities[u]; and that degree of knowledge which in the poor and illiterate were highly com-

[s] There are those to whom nothing of this kind is obscure, and who determine the most difficult points without hesitation; happy, in never feeling the uneasiness of doubt and suspense,

'Felices errore suo!'

But in some danger of being elated with pride; as the ears of corn which are emptiest carry their heads the highest.

[t] In iis quæ unicuique necessaria sunt creditu, speratu, factu, valde est perspicua Scriptura. In cæteris quanta opus sit cognitione linguarum, collatione versionum, quanto labore, experti sunt veteres, et nunc experiuntur qui in eo desudant. Grotius, Annot. ad Consult. Cassand.

[u] They who say that human learning is of no use in religion, are no more to be disputed with than the honest man in Horace,

'Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos,
In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro.'

He who strives and expects to convince and alter such persons, either undervalues his time and pains, or overvalues his abilities.

'Sola Scripturarum ars est,' says Jerome, 'quam sibi omnes passim

mendable, would be gross and vicious ignorance in those of higher rank, of more leisure, learning, and abilities.

The ignorance of some persons in matters of religion is astonishing; and the only excuses which can be offered for it, namely, want of capacity, or want of leisure[w], are often groundless: for the knowledge required of every person cannot be greater than his abilities; and the abilities of many persons are greater than they think[x]. The understanding must be exercised before its strength can be known, and by exercise it may be improved beyond imagination; and as to leisure[y], there are few, even of those who are engaged in a laborious way of life, who have not many hours which are a burden to them, or are consumed in a manner that hurts their souls and their bodies.

Common people are not to be encouraged to spend that time in religious exercises which is due to the care of their families, nor to make piety a cloak for laziness, nor to be contentious about things which they understand not; but if they would bestow a seventh part of their time and of their industry in the improvement of their hearts and minds, and in religious meditations, they would find their advantage in it many ways; they would probably avoid several sins which ruin them even in this world; they would be more honest, more sober, more civil, and more industrious, and consequently meet with more encouragement and kindness from their superiors; they would find more divine assistance, more comfort, more peace of mind and resignation in all circumstances; and they would not be, what several of them now are, guilty of so many faults, and exposed to so many evils, that it is hard to say whether they are more wicked or more miserable.

vendicant; hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant.' What would he say,

'Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum?'

[w] Virorum nugæ, negotia vocantur. Augustin, Conf. i. 9.

[x] See Locke, Conduct of the Understand. § 4.

[y] Much business is no excuse for neglecting him in whom we live and move and have our being. Every Christian should be able to apply to himself in a religious sense the words of Julius Cæsar in Lucan:

—— media inter prælia semper
Stellarum cœlique plagis, superisque vacavi.

See Epictet. Sentent. 102, 103, 104. p. 141. ed. Reland.

VII.

THE GOSPEL CONSIDERED AS IT IS GRACE AND TRUTH.

ST. John tells us that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, that he brought them into the world, and that they are contained in the revelation of God's will, of which he was the author.

I. The gospel is frequently called *grace*; and this word hath several meanings, all of which may be applied to the gospel.

1. The word grace, in its most obvious acceptation, means favour, favour flowing from mercy and beneficence, to which the person who receives it can make no claim, as of right. In this sense the gospel is most particularly and emphatically grace in all and every part of it, it is a gift of God which we could not in any manner be said to deserve.

2. The gospel is grace as it promiseth to repenting sinners not only an exemption from punishment[z], but a resurrection to eternal happiness; and our Saviour showed so much tenderness and lenity, and gave so much encouragement to all in whom he discovered dispositions towards amendment, that he drew upon himself, from the censorious Jews, the opprobrious name of the friend of sinners and of publicans[a]; a name which he was very willing to

[z] It was an unreasonable objection made to Christianity by Julian in his Cæsars, and by Celsus in Orig. iii. p. 147. that by offering pardon to repenting sinners, it favoured immorality, and set open the kingdom of heaven to vice and folly. Zosimus ii. p. 61, insinuates the same thing, and says that Constantine had recourse to Christianity after the Pagan priests had told him that their religion afforded no purgation for such heinous crimes as he had committed. See Phileleuth. Lipsiens. P. ii. p. 20.

[a] Πάντες τελῶναι πάντες εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες.
'Quot publicani, tot raptores.'

See Digest. l. xxxix. tit. iv. 12. The emperor Vespasian's father

accept, declaring that he came into the world for the sake of such persons, and that the business of his life was to seek and save them.

Repentance is, indeed, a duty of natural religion, and reason gives us hopes that it may be advantageous to us.

For, as it is certain that sin is evil and detestable, and displeasing to God, it is no less evident that to confess and dislike and condemn our faults, to avoid them for the future, to amend whatsoever is blameable in our conduct, to practise the duties which we have neglected, are actions good in themselves and acceptable to God, and therefore cannot be unprofitable to us.

Besides, we find ourselves able to change, as from better to worse, so from worse to better [b]. Now certainly it is not to no purpose that we enjoy this power. It seems

was an exception to this proverb, who was at the same time a publican and a man of honour, and of whom Suetonius relates, —— 'publicam quadragesimæ in Asia egit. Manebantque imagines a civitatibus ei positæ cum hoc titulo, Καλῶς τηλωνήσαντι.' Vespas. 1.

[b] This freedom neither excludes the divine assistance, nor renders it unnecessary: man unquestionably receives all his powers from his Maker, and continually stands in need of his aid, for the performance of his duty.

If we can neither think nor act otherwise than we do, or, rather, if we cannot act, in a true sense, but are actuated by something external, we must be just what we are, and power and choice belong not to us. Let us be concerned about nothing, if our concern signify nothing: so advises the poet and fatalist;

'Solvite, mortales, animos, curasque levate,
Totque supervacuis vitam deplete querelis.
Fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege.'
Manilius, iv. 13.

But the advice seems to come with an ill grace from a fatalist, and men might return the poet this answer upon his own principles;

'Desine nos monitis, vates, illudere vanis;
Hoc quoque fatale est, tristes effundere questus
Incassum, et curis nil proficientibus angi.'

'Homo,' as Grotius well observes, 'solus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, hoc est, mente liberoque arbitrio præditus, quod fundamentum est dominationis ipsius in cæteras creaturas. Non potest enim rerum aliarum esse dominus, qui suarum actionum dominus non sit.' De Satisfact.

therefore probable that God, who made us beings capable of amendment, will show some favour to us, if for the time to come we carefully endeavour to deserve it.

To this may be added the consideration of the great goodness of God. We account it commendable in men to forgive offences, when the offender owns his fault, and offers such reparation as he is able to make, and changes his behaviour. But God must surpass us in goodness no less than in all other perfections.

The same favourable conclusions may also be drawn from the weakness of human nature, which, though it be no excuse for stubborn disobedience, yet seems to render the penitent proper objects of divine mercy. If man were not a creature exposed to many violent temptations, frail, and easily seduced, certainly some would be found of unspotted innocence and integrity. But it is evident that the very best offend in many things. We must therefore conclude, either that God requires unsinning obedience, and will spare none of the race of mankind, (which cannot be supposed,) or that he will not be extreme to mark what is done amiss.

Lastly, the end and design of punishment is to be considered. To punish for revenge, and only that the offender may become miserable, is a conduct unworthy of a good and wise being. Punishment should be inflicted either for the profit and amendment of the offender [c], or for the good of the whole, or for both. But if God should punish repenting sinners very rigorously, and never pardon them, nothing useful could arise from their sufferings; not their own amendment, nor the improvement of their fellow-creatures, who could only be terrified and driven to despair by such examples.

These seem to be the suggestions of human reason left to itself, concerning the profitableness of repentance and reformation. But the utmost that a man can conclude without the assistance of revelation is, that it shall be much better for him in a future state, if he amend his

[c] Plato, de Leg. ix. et xi. Gorg. et Protag. p. 324. De Rep. ii. p. 380. Seneca, de Clem. i. 16. A. Gellius, vi. 14. Clemens Alex. Strom. vi, p. 764 et p. 794.

life, than if he continue wicked. Thus far reason goes, and no further.

But though repentance be, as we have observed, a part of natural religion, yet it seems to have been little practised by many of the Gentiles. Amendment of life is a comely and commendable thing [d], and the Pagans certainly approved it; but that part of repentance which is a religious sorrow, an acknowledgment of past offences to God our maker and governor, and prayers to him to forgive them, the Gentiles seem in a great measure to have overlooked, both in the course of their life, and at the close of it [e].

The Law of Moses appointed expiations and sacrifices

[d] Referamur illuc, unde non decuit prius
Abire: vel nunc casta repetatur fides.
Nam sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via.
Quem pœnitet peccasse, pæne est innocens.
Seneca, Agamemn.

Λόγος—ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, προαγορεύων ἐξίστασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τρόπων τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς. 'Sermo—recte sequitur, qui impiis omnibus prædicet, ut a suis moribus ad pietatem sese convertant.' Plato, de Leg. x.

When a man has taken ill courses, says Cebes, he becomes miserable for the remaining part of his life, unless *Repentance* interposes; by whose friendly assistance he is saved, and made happy. Τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καταστρέφει ἐν πάσῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, ἂν μὴ Μετάνοια αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης συναντήσῃ,—εἶτα—ἐξαίρει αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν,—[καὶ] σώζεται, καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίγνεται.—Tabul. Cebet. See also Plato's Phædo, p. 113. edit. Steph.

That some Pagans had and have some notions of the efficacy of repentance, see in Huet. Alnet. Quæst. ii. 20. p. 275. iii. 14. 369, 370.

[e] The [Christian] doctrine of repentance Nature never taught in her school, neither was it ever found in the books of the learned, &c. John Hale's Serm. on St. Peter's fall.

The lady in the island Cea, of whom Val. Maximus tells a remarkable story, recommended herself, before she drank poison, to the favour of Mercury; but we find not that she made any acknowledgment of sins, or asked forgiveness of the Gods: 'Tum defusis Mercurio delibamentis, et invocato numine ejus, ut se placido itinere in meliorem sedis infernæ deduceret partem, cupido haustu mortiferam traxit potionem.' ii. vi. 8.

That this recommendatory prayer to Mercury was not uncommon, we may conjecture from Sophocles, who makes Ajax say, before he falls on his sword, 838.

for some offences; and for some offences it appointed none.

The prophets exhorted sinners in general to return to God, and declared that a broken and contrite heart God would not reject and despise, even where no sacrifices had been appointed, or would be accepted by him. But that repentance shall open a way for us to eternal life, is clearly taught only in the gospel.

——— καλῶ δ' ἅμα
Πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι,
Ξὺν ἀσφαδάστῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πηδήματι,
Πλευρὰν διαῤῥήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ.

In his Oedipus Colon. 1552. the chorus prays to the infernal gods, that they would grant that unhappy prince an easy death and a quiet passage to their dominions:

Εἰ θέμις ἐστί μοι τὰν ἀφανῆ θεὸν
Καὶ σὲ λιταῖς σεβίζειν,
Ἐννυχίων ἄναξ, &c.

Socrates, holding the cup in his hand, said—'This however is lawful and right, to pray to the gods that my departing from this state to another may be happy. So I pray, and so be it'—Ἀλλ' εὔχεσθαι γέ που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστί τε καὶ χρὴ, τὴν μετοίκησιν τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε εὐτυχῆ γενέσθαι. ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ εὔχομαί τε, καὶ γένοιτο ταύτῃ. Plato Phæd. 66.

These prayers were called ἐξιτήριοι εὐχαὶ, as Mr. Forster has observed in his note on this passage.

Peregrinus, εἶπεν, Δαίμονες μητρῷοι καὶ πατρῷοι, δέξασθέ με εὐμενῶς. ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐπήδησεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ· dixit, O materni atque paterni dæmones, suscipite me propitii. Quibus dictis, in ignem insiliit. Lucian, de Mort. Per.

See the prayer in Euripides,

Σοὶ τῶν πάντων μελέοντι ———

cited and commended by Clemens Alex. Strom. v. p. 688. and by Cudworth, p. 363. The sum of the prayer, says Cudworth, is this, 'that God would infuse light into the souls of men, whereby they might be enabled to know what is the root from whence all their evils spring, and by what means they may avoid them.' If we had the whole context, we could better judge, whether this were a prayer to be delivered from evil in general, or from some particular calamity.

From a survey of the devotions of the Gentiles it will appear that, some instances excepted, there was nothing spiritual in their prayers, no thanksgiving, no request for divine assistance in the performance of their duty, no pious sorrow and acknowledgment of their offences.

After the propagation of the Christian religion, we find forms of adoration in some Pagan writers, which are more rational and spiritual than the old hymns and prayers of their ancestors; and we may reasonably

3. The gospel is grace, as it promises us, if we humbly and sincerely desire it, the divine assistance, which shall comfort us in afflictions, and support us under temptations, and enable us to work out our salvation, and to pass safely through this state of trial to a state of happiness.

4. The gospel may be called grace with respect to the manner in which it was revealed. The law, which was a severer institution, was delivered with an awful pomp and majesty, that might strike a terror into the people, and work powerfully upon their fears, and extort obedience from them by the dread of punishment. But the gospel, the covenant of peace, made its appearance with mildness and condescension. It was introduced by the Son of God conversing familiarly with men, teaching them by his doctrine and example, willing with great patience to bear with their imperfections and weaknesses, and to guide them gently to virtue and knowledge by plain and repeated instructions.

5. The gospel is grace, as it contains righteous and equitable laws. The duties towards God which it requires of us, are a reasonable service, which we are bound in gratitude to perform. Our duty to our neighbour, as it is there laid down, promotes the happiness of mankind, ren-

suppose that these improvements arose from the gospel. See Procl Hymn. ad Solem, et ad Musas; Jamblich. de Myst. Ægypt. § 5. c. 26; Simpl. in Epictet. ad fin. to whom I wish I could add Maximus Tyrius. It is pity that he, who on other accounts deserves commendation, should have taught that prayer to God was superfluous, Disc. 30. See also Juvenal x. 346. and the commentators.

Seneca says, 'Primus est deorum cultus, deos credere: deinde reddere illis majestatem suam, reddere bonitatem.—Vis deos propitiare? bonus esto. Satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est.' Epist. 95. p. 470. But that he did not think prayer to be useless and unnecessary, as some may fancy from these words, will appear from the following places. 'Nos quoque existimamus vota proficere, salvâ vi et potestate fatorum. Quædam enim a Diis immortalibus ita suspensa relicta sunt, ut in bonum vertant, si admotæ Diis preces fuerint, si vota suscepta.' Nat. Quæst. ii. 57. 'Itaque non dat Deus beneficia,—non exaudit precantium voces et undique sublatis in cœlum manibus vota facientium privata ac publica. Quod profecto non fieret, nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina et inefficaces Deos, nisi nossent illorum beneficia nunc ultro oblata, nunc orantibus data.' De Benef. iv. 4.

ders us useful in every station, raises us up friends, and makes us pass our days with tranquillity and reputation. The duty which it teaches us to ourselves tends to moderate our unruly passions, and subdue those worst enemies to our repose, to preserve our mind quiet, and our understanding clear, and capable of exerting its natural powers. These duties it so enjoins and explains, that if any Christian be ignorant of them, it must be by his own wilful and great negligence. To these it adds baptism, and the supper of the Lord[f], of which the first is performed once, and never afterwards repeated, and the second, as to the frequency of receiving it, is so far left to our own discretion, that it can never interfere with any moral duty, or hinder us from performing any thing that is truly profitable and commendable. Whatsoever was burdensome in the Law of Moses was taken away by the Gospel, which is called the law of liberty, as it removed that yoke from the Jews, and imposed it not upon the Gentiles. The ceremonial ordinances are abolished, and in their stead a plain and spiritual worship of God takes place.

6. The gospel is grace, as it is a gift offered to all, an invitation from which none are excluded. It does not, like the law of Moses, distinguish one nation from another; it is a religion confined in none of its rites to particular places and people, but fitted for universal use.

It is true, indeed, that many nations have been and are ignorant of it, and that it has not been published to the whole world. God hath not thought proper to acquaint us with the reasons why he permits this[g], but we may be certain that, though we cannot search out all the ways of God, yet perfect wisdom does nothing unfit, and perfect goodness nothing unmerciful. We know, and this knowledge is sufficient, that God is represented in scripture as the common Father of mankind, who is good to all his creatures, and incapable of prejudice and partiality, and

[f] Baptism had been practised both by Jews and Pagans. 'In multis idolorum sacrilegis sacris baptizari homines perhibentur.' Augustin. de Baptism. vi. 25.

[g] Christianity is to be accounted as a favour; and for favours it is not necessary to assign any reason, besides the will of the supreme Donor.

not willing that any should perish; that every one shall be accepted according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not; that to every one is given a light to guide him, and a law, either written or unwritten, either revelation or reason, by which he shall be judged.

7. Grace, in some places of the New Testament, means those extraordinary powers which the Holy Ghost conferred upon the apostles and first believers, by which they were enabled to convert Jews and Gentiles, and to instruct Christians, and to give a sufficient testimony to the truth of the gospel.

8. Lastly, grace sometimes means goodness or moral virtue. In this sense the gospel is grace, as it sets morality in a clear light, and enforces the practice of it by the best and most effectual motives; as it produced, when it was first preached, a wonderful and happy change in the behaviour of those who received it; and as it continues still to make Christians, if not so good as they ought to be, yet far better than they would have been without it.

It will look like dissimulation and insincerity to pass by an argument so often urged against the gospel, as it is grace, namely, the doctrine of future punishments contained in it.

At this sad thought, say they, all these fair and pleasing ideas of heavenly grace and overflowing benevolence seem to droop and fade away, and the soul, rather than be exposed to the bare possibility of undergoing such evils, would willingly take refuge in a silent everlasting insensibility [h], would have chosen not to have been at all, if such a choice could be supposed possible, rather than to have been called forth into being on such dangerous terms.

That God is *good* seems to be a sufficient answer. At

[h] 'Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man? did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me?—&c.
——— Him after all disputes
Forc'd I absolve.'

Milton, Par. Lost, x.

present, objections must be impertinent, and solutions imperfect. Let us wait till the righteous Judge appears, and then these and many other difficulties will be removed. In the mean time we may rest satisfied with this, that sin shall neither enjoy an impunity irreconcileable with God's justice and majesty, nor endure sufferings inconsistent with his mercy and clemency.

It is, I think, generally supposed that there will be a great variety of punishments. To be deprived of some good which by a proper conduct might have been secured and obtained, if it be attended with dissatisfaction or regret, is certainly a punishment; and, if it always lasts, an eternal punishment. He who is in this condition has lost his rank, and is placed far beneath many of those who were once his equals, without a possibility of retrieving the loss [i].

No less various may be the recompences. The inexhaustible Fountain of good has more than one blessing. He has gifts of a lower sort for those who are not worthy 'to sit down on the right or on the left hand' of his Son. 'In his house are many mansions [k];' in his wide-extended kingdom there may be habitations, remote perhaps from his throne, yet not beyond his favourable influences, situated within the realms of light, and appointed for beings of moderate improvements, but of good inclinations, who shall be permitted to adore him at a distance [l].

II. We have considered the gospel as it is grace; let us now, secondly, view it as it is truth.

The gospel is frequently called the truth.

I. It is so called in opposition to the falsehood of Pagan-

[i] ——— frustra sectabere canthum,
Cum rota posterior curras, et in axe secundo.
Persius, v. 71.

[k] Multa in thesauris Patris est habitatio, Christe,
Disparibus discreta locis; non posco beata
In regione domum, &c.
Prudentii Hamartig. 952.

[l] ——— with whom would I
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore.

ism [m], which had overspread the world. The ignorance of the Pagans, and the errors into which their vices had led them, are represented in the New Testament by the strongest expressions. It is there said that they knew not God, that they did not like to retain him in their knowledge, and that they were without God in the world. The meaning of which seems not to be that the Gentiles were all atheists, and absolutely and wholly ignorant of God, but that they glorified him not as God; for as, in the language of the Scriptures, to know God is to obey him, so, not to know him, is not to honour him; and all wicked men are called unbelievers, and men who know not God. The Gentiles had not, indeed, quite lost all notions of the excellence and perfections of the Divine nature; they generally acknowledged one supreme God, and some thought him to be as good and wise as he was powerful; but with him [n] they adored inferior deities [o]. To these

[m] False Gods are called *lies* in Scripture. Grotius on Rom. i. 25.

[n] Some philosophers, at last, in their refinements upon religion, represented the supreme God as above all adoration, and not to be worshipped, like inferior deities, by prayers and praises, but only by a silent sort of contemplation. 'Constat ex l. 4. Cyrilli contra Julianum, Porphyrium existimasse solos deos mundanos colendos esse, non autem Supremum illum. Fuit et hæc plurimorum ex schola Platonica opinio.' Gale ad Jamblich. More to the same purpose may be seen in Fabricius, de Ver. Rel. Christ. c. 8. p. 315.

[o] Those Pagans who were not atheists or sceptics, seem generally to have been polytheists, that is, to have acknowledged one supreme and many inferior gods; and to this class might perhaps be added most of the ditheists, or dualists, who admitted two principles, the one good, the other evil, and yet only one supreme God, endued with all perfections, and infinitely superior to the evil power.

The antient Chinese are to be excepted, if we may give credit to Louis Le Comte, who in his relation of China says, that for the space of near two thousand years they preserved the knowledge of the true God, and that they were not corrupted with idolatry till eight hundred years before Christ. Other writers there are, who say that the old religion of China was indeed free from gross idolatry, from the worship of images and of dead men; but that it appointed the worship of dæmons, or inferior deities, who were to be adored besides the supreme God. See Fabric. Luc. Evang. cap. 39. and Bayle Dict. *Zoroastre*, p. 2930. note.

Concerning the antient Persians, see Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. and Fabricius, Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 30, 31. and Cudworth.

The Arabians before Mohammed are said to have acknowledged only one God; but besides him they worshipped inferior deities, angels,

many Gentiles ascribed much weakness and wickedness, and worshipped them in a way not unsuitable to their sup-

saints, &c. as mediators and intercessors. See Prideaux, Life of Mahom. and Sale's Koran. Prelim. Disc. p. 14, &c.

Cudworth observes, that 'from the words of Onatus the Pythagorean in Stobæus, it plainly appears that in his time there were some who acknowledged only one God, denying all those other gods then commonly worshipped. And indeed Anaxagoras seems to have been such an one — and some such there were also amongst the antient Ægyptians.—Moreover Proclus upon Plato's Timæus tells us, that there has been always less doubt and controversy in the world concerning the one God, than concerning the many gods.' Intell. Syst. p. 233.

Anaxagoras held matter to be self-existent; and Gerard Vossius was mistaken in thinking that this philosopher believed the world to have been created, because Νοῦν 'esse dixit principium mundi.' Thes. Theol. Disp. 1. p. 5. Νοῦς, according to Anaxagoras, was only ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, the first mover, the cause of motion, and the former of all things.

Lucian, describing and deriding the various opinions of the philosophers concerning the gods and the world, speaks of some persons who mantained the unity of God. His words are remarkable: καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας θεοὺς ἀπελάσαντες, ἐνὶ μόνῳ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἀπένειμον. ὥστε ῥῆμα καὶ ἄχθεσθαί με, τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν θεῶν ἀκούοντα. οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι, πόλλούς τε αὐτοὺς ἀπέφαινον, καὶ διελόμενοι, τὸν μέν τινα πρῶτον θεὸν ἐπεκάλουν, τοῖς δὲ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτα ἔνεμον τῆς θεότητος. Icaromen.

Now, if we consider how hard it is to produce Pagan philosophers who taught the unity of God in so very express a manner as is here represented by Lucian, we shall be inclined to think that he had other persons in view. Some, says he, make a sad scarcity of gods, expelling them all but one, and giving him the whole power and management; others are more bountiful, and divide the divinity into a first, a second, and a third god. I think the words will bear this sense; and, if so, Lucian might perhaps intend to scoff at the Jews and the Christians.

The more refined kind of polytheism seems to have been the doctrine of one God and Father of all, who governed the world, and administered human affairs by the interposition and offices of beings inferior to himself, and superior to us, in a looser sense called gods, who were of a middle nature between God and men, who presided over this lower world, and who, as mediators, conveyed blessings from God to us, and offered up our adorations and thanksgivings to him. Notions like these had been adopted by some Jews, and by some of the first Gentile converts to Christianity. St. Paul therefore exhorts the Colossians to place their faith and trust, not in angels, but in Christ, as in him by whom alone we have access to the Father, ii. 18. where see the commentators, and Whitby, p. 466. vol. ii. and on Hebr. i. 10.

posed nature [p]. They worshipped God in his works [q], in all things, and deified the several parts of nature: they worshipped him under emblems, symbols, sensible representations, and images. They deified dead, and sometimes living persons; the former often out of injudicious gratitude, the latter usually out of sordid flattery. Amongst the lower sort superstition prevailed; amongst the better, uncertainty and doubt [r]. And thus not making a proper use of their reason, they were ignorant, or not sufficiently persuaded of those religious truths, upon the knowledge and assurance of which our happiness, even in this life, in a great measure depends; for, if we take away the firm belief of a merciful creator and preserver of the world, whose providence extends itself over all, and whose goodness protects, and will reward those who serve him and trust in him, a man can enjoy no rational peace of mind, no true and well-grounded and lasting satisfaction. He cannot support himself under the troubles inseparable from life. Scarcely can he rejoice even in the days of prosperity, which, he knows, must be of no long continuance.

If it were true that there is no God, and we could be

[p] See Justin M. Apol. ii. p. 128. and Dr. Thirlby's Notes, and Grotius, de Satisfact. c. 10.

[q] Many of them worshipped brutes, &c. The Ægyptians are said to have adored almost every thing, even 'crepitum ventris.' Apion (says Josephus), who was an Ægyptian, should not have ridiculed us for worshipping the head of an ass, though it had been true, since 'asinus non sit deterior furonibus et hircis—qui sunt apud eos dii.' Contr. Apion. ii. So the old and barbarous Latin version; for here the Greek is lost. The commentators have not told us what animal this furo is. Perhaps the interpreter meant a kind of weasel or ferret, called in French 'furet,' in Calepin, 'furunculus,' in Greek ἰκτὶς. But I believe that the animal mentioned by Josephus was ἰχνεύμων, the ichneumon, the Ægyptian rat, who did his countrymen great service, and was worshipped by them, and resembles the ἰκτὶς very much.

Μορφὴ δ' ἰχνεύταο κινωπέτου, οἷαν ἀμυδρῆς
Ἰκτίδος.

Nicander. Theriac.

[r] Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram.
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
Est iter in silvis; ubi cœlum condidit umbra
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

Virgil.

certain of it, it would be a truth which a rational being could not forbear to mourn all the days of his life. Man would then be exposed, friendless and fatherless, to every kind of evil, under the dominion of blind Chance, or unrelenting Necessity; nor could he be sure that death would put an end to him and to his sufferings, and that he should not be drawn by a fatal chain of things from this bad state to a worse. But all that we see without us, and all that passes within us, tells us in the silent language of nature, that there is an Author and Governor of the universe.

The gospel gives us a just and amiable description of him. It teaches us that there is a God in whom we may confide, and whom, if we love virtue, we shall certainly love; to whom we may address ourselves for the relief of our wants, and the pardon of our offences[s]. It teaches us that God is not such a being as some of the Gentiles esteemed him to be, not a being offended easily and without cause, and pacified by frivolous ceremonies, not a being enslaved to necessity and fate, not a being who takes no notice of the world, and cares not whether men be virtuous or wicked, nor one who regards only great things, and cannot or will not inspect all; but such a being in every respect as a good man would wish him to be, and infinitely more perfect than the wisest man can conceive him to be.

All religion, natural or revealed, and all our better hopes, are founded upon the supposition that God is good; and as this is of all truths the most important, so there are many clear and strong proofs of it. I shall only mention two or three.

1. To suppose that God is not good, is to suppose him weaker and more imperfect, and worse than the worst of his creatures.

In men every evil action may be ascribed to the temp-

[s] The duty of man is three-fold; to God, to his fellow-creatures, to himself. The Gentiles had juster notions of the duty of man to mankind and to himself, than they had concerning his duty to God. Cicero, I think, passes over this important part of morality in his Books of Offices, only just touching upon it, ii. 3. 'deos placatos pietas efficiet et sanctitas.'

tation of present profit or pleasure, to a power which the mind has of fixing its thoughts entirely upon the object which it desires, and of overlooking the ill consequences arising from it, and in some measure to error and mistake. Thus enticed and deluded a sinner acts, never choosing evil for its own sake. But God, if he were an evil being, would be disposed to evil neither by mistake, nor temptation, nor passion, nor advantage, and would choose evil purely as evil.

2. It is the observation of a celebrated philosopher, that the artist loves the work of his hands better than his work would love him, if it were endued with sense and reason; and that the person who confers a great benefit upon another, loves him whom he obliges better than the obliged person loves him[t]. To which we may add, that parents generally love their children more than they are beloved by them. And yet, in all these instances, gratitude, one would think, should make the love of the inferior to be the strongest; but experience shows that it has not this effect. These observations may be reduced to a general truth, that love descends more than it ascends; and we may be permitted, I think, to apply this to God and to ourselves, and to say that our great and good Creator and Benefactor loves us far better than the most dutiful of us love him.

3. Men have the affections of compassion, benignity, and benevolence; only in some they are more confined, in others more diffused; in some more languid, and in others more lively. Whence had they these affections? From their own constitution, and from the constitution of things. But who made this constitution? Chance, or Necessity? Chance is nothing, and Necessity is nothing. We must find an author of it, and this author must possess every good quality and perfection which he produces and communicates.

The gospel teaches us to be sensible of our wants and imperfections, and dependence upon God, and thereby

[t] Πᾶς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἀγαπᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγαπηθείη ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔργου, ἐμψύχου γενομένου, &c. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. ix.

greatly surpasses Pagan philosophy[u] in enforcing humility[w].

[u] See the commentators on Horace, Epist. i. xviii. 111.

'Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ ponit et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mî animum ipse parabo.'

Better is the following observation of Cicero: 'Multos — et nostra civitas et Græcia tulit singulares viros; quorum neminem, nisi juvante Deo, talem fuisse credendum est.—Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit.' De Nat. Deor. ii. 66. And of Maximus Tyrius, who supposes that virtuous minds have ξυναγωνιστὴν θεὸν καὶ συλλήπτορα, Diss. xxii. And of Seneca, who says, 'Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est. An potest aliquis supra fortunam, nisi ab illo adjutus, exsurgere? ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta. In unoquoque virorum bonorum, quis Deus incertum est, habitat Deus.' Epist. xli.

[w] The word 'humilitas' is used by Latin writers in a bad sense; but that this virtue was not quite unknown to them, and to other Gentiles, may be proved thus: they acknowledged that pride or self-conceit was a vice; they must therefore have perceived that there was a virtue contrary to it, and that it consisted in thinking soberly of ourselves, and as we ought to think, and in acting suitably to such thoughts; and as they sometimes use μέγα φρονεῖν, ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν, in a bad sense, they must have allowed it to be commendable μέτρια καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἴσα φρονεῖν. They had also a name for this virtue: the Romans called it 'modestia, moderatio.' Barrow says, in one of his discourses, that the word 'candor' answers nearly to humility. If he had thought at that time of 'modestia,' he would have preferred it to 'candor.' The word 'demissus' is also found in Latin authors, to denote a good disposition; it answers to ταπεινὸς, and means humble, modest, meek. Plato de Leg. iv. p. 715, 6. recommends humility towards God: ὁ μὲν δὴ Θεὸς, ἀρχήν τε καὶ τελευτὴν, καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων, εὐθεῖαν περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος. τῷ δ' ἀεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρὸς· ἧς ὁ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων, ἐχόμενος, ξυνέπεται ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΪ [καὶ] κεκοσμημένος. ὁ δέ τις ἐξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας.—'Deus, omnium rerum et principium et medium et finem in se habens, rectam viam peràgit, explicans vim suam atque potentiam per hanc universi naturam, perque omnes illius partes circumquaque permanans. Hunc sequitur justitia, eorum qui a divinâ lege deficiunt ultrix atque vindex, cui quidem justitiæ is *modesto* et composito animo adhæret qui felix est futurus, ejusque ductum et auspicium constanter persequitur. Qui autem superbiâ elatus est———' It is certain that ταπεινὸς has a good sense here. See also Origen contr. Cels. vi. p. 285. where this passage is cited; and Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. xxii. p. 499. and the notes.

As they are in an error who say that humility was absolutely unknown to the Pagans, so those learned men (and amongst them Huet. Aln. Quæst. iii. 8.) seem no less mistaken, who will needs have it that this virtue is very frequently mentioned by the philosophers. When you

The gospel has taught us more than we could else have discovered concerning our state hereafter [x].

It is true that reason furnishes us with very probable arguments for the soul's immortality, and that many in all ages have believed it; nevertheless it is true also that the gospel has given us a clearer knowledge of our future condition.

For, (1.) the best arguments which reason suggests for the immortality of the soul, are founded upon right notions of God and of morality; but before the gospel was revealed, the common people amongst the Gentiles had low and imperfect notions of these important truths, and consequently they were not persuaded upon good grounds of their future existence.

(2.) Though the belief of a state after this, was much received amongst men, yet was it entertained by the vulgar rather as an antient and long-established opinion, than as a truth founded upon just reasoning. Their ancestors had believed a life to come, and they retained the notions which had been delivered down to them by tradition; but they could not trace this tradition up to its rise, nor fix it upon an authority which might be trusted.

expect proofs of their assertion, they give you passages which recommend patience under injuries and calamities, a contempt of honours and power, of glory and popular applause, of censure and reproach; and at the head of the humble and meek they place the ragged regiment of the cynics, many of whom were not less proud than poor.

Stoic humility is very well described by Epictetus xlv. Σημεῖα προκόπτοντος· οὐδένα ψέγει, οὐδένα ἐπαινεῖ, οὐδένα μέμφεται, οὐδενὶ ἐγκαλεῖ, οὐδὲν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει, ὡς ὄντος τινὸς, ἢ εἰδότος τί.—κἂν τις αὐτὸν ἐπαινῇ, καταγελᾷ τοῦ ἐπαινοῦντος αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτῷ· κἂν ψέγῃ, οὐκ ἀπολογεῖται. ἂν ἠλίθιος, ἢ ἀμαθὴς δοκῇ, οὐ πεφρόντικεν. The signs of a proficient are these. He blames no one, he praises no one, he complains of no one, he accuses no one, he says nothing of himself as of being somebody, or knowing something.—If any one praises him, he laughs at the praiser within himself; if any one blames him, he makes no defence.—If he be thought a fool, or an ignorant, he cares not.

[x] See Whitby on 2 Tim. i. 10. and Le Clerc, Proleg. Hist. Ecc. sect. i. and ii. 'Varro commemorare Deos cœpit,—ostendens in omnibus, quod sit cujusque munus, et propter quid cuique debeat supplicari. In quâ universâ diligentiâ, nullos demonstravit vel denominavit Deos, a quibus vita æterna poscenda sit.' August. de Civ. Dei, vi. 9.

(3.) They who argued justly enough to conclude from the nature of God and of man, that it was reasonable to believe the immortality of the soul, and to hope that a future state of happiness should be the reward of a well-spent life, yet could not hence fairly draw any conclusions to their own full satisfaction; for they must have been sensible that they had not lived up to the laws of nature and the dictates of their own reason, and that they had offended the author of their being in many instances. It is true, they might have recourse to repentance and amendment; but how far this would avail they could not certainly know. What could they hope more than to be removed after death into some other world, some other state perhaps not much better than this?

(4.) Many who believed the immortality of souls, believed also a continual and successive removal of souls from one body to another, and no fixed state of permanent happiness[y]. After death they were to dwell in some other body, and to continue thus changing their abodes, as they supposed that they had already done in ages past. And as in this life they had no memory of their former condition, so the memory of their present state was to be lost in the next. Thus their remembrance, at least, which seems to be no small part of one's self, was to perish by death[z].

(5.) Some, who in words acknowledged the immortality of the soul, seem in reality to have taken it away, by imagining that the soul was a part of the soul of the world, of the Deity, and that upon its separation from the body it was reunited to it[a].

(6.) Some endeavoured to prove the soul's immortality by arguments which proved too much; which showed, if

[y] See Grotius on Ephes. xi. 12.

[z] That consciousness is requisite in personal identity, was the opinion of Lucretius, iii. 859. and of Tertullian, De Resurr. Carnis.—'Neque mentem, neque memoriam, neque conscientiam hominis hodierni credibile est aboleri, &c.——Si non meminerim me esse qui merui, quomodo gloriam Deo dicam?'——&c.

Justin Martyr, or the old man who instructs him, says much the same, Dial. p. 147.

[a] See Virgil, Georg. iv. 221.

they showed any thing, that the soul was from eternity; whence disagreeable consequences seem to flow.

(7.) Some supposed that the soul should outlive the body, and receive a reward of virtue; but they thought that it was material, and subject to dissolution, and that a time must come when it should perish.

(8.) Many had so far debased their understanding as to persuade themselves that death was a dissolution of the whole man, and that there was nothing to hope or fear beyond this life [b].

Some we find entertaining faint hopes [c], mixed with many doubts [d]; others fancying that they should be removed from one body to another, and be perpetual wan-

[b] ——— 'mortem cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ, neque gaudio locum esse.' Cæsar apud Sallust. B. C. 50. ubi vide Wasse.

[c] Hence those common forms of speaking: 'Si tamen e nobis aliquid restat; Si quid habet sensûs umbra,' &c.

[d] Seneca on this subject is ἀλλοπρόσαλλος, wavering and inconstant in his sentiments. What Homer says of one of his heroes might be applied to him:

Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης, ποτέροισι μετείη
Ἠὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλέοι, ἦ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς.
Il. E. 85.

'Juvabat de æternitate animarum quærere, imo mehercule credere. Credebam enim facilè opinionibus magnorum virorum, rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium.' Epist. cii. p. 503.

He says indeed, 'Dies iste, quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis est.' Epist. cii. and elsewhere, 'Animus æternitatis suæ memor, in omne, quod fuit, futurumque est, omnibus sæculis vadit.' And, 'Animus sacer et æternus est.' Consol. ad Helv. ii. And, 'Ipse quidem æternus, meliorisque nunc status est,' &c. Ad Marc. 24.

But most of these passages are taken from his Consolations, where it behoved him to speak magnificently of the future state of the soul, that he might assuage the grief of those whom he exhorted to bear patiently the death or the absence of their dearest friends. In other places he talks in another manner.

Besides, the word 'æternus' in Seneca often means 'diuturnus.' Consol. ad Marc. 'Nos quoque felices animæ et æterna sortitæ, cum Deo visum erit ista moliri, labentibus cunctis, et ipsi parva ruinæ ingentis accessio, in antiqua elementa vertemur.' Nat. Quæst. vii. 'Non existimo cometen subitaneum ignem, sed inter æterna opera naturæ.' Nat. Quæst. ii. 10. he calls the stars 'æternos ignes.' And again, Nat. Quæst. vii. 23. See also ch. 25. and 37. And in Thyestes, 835.

derers; others looking upon the grave as upon their eternal habitation[e], and sadly complaining that the sun and stars could set and rise again, but that man, when his day was set, must lie down in darkness, and sleep a perpetual sleep[f].

'Non æternæ facis exortu
Dux astrorum secula ducens
Dabit æstatis brumæque notas.——
Ibit in unum congesta sinum
Turba Deorum.'

Whence it appears that Seneca calls 'eternal' whatsoever he thought would last 'usque ad ἐκπύρωσιν,' till the stoic conflagration, and would not perish before the end of the world.

This is no very uncommon use of the word 'æternus,' which has also the comparative 'æternior.' See Faber's Thesaurus.

On the contrary, 'longævus' sometimes signifies immortal, as Servius thinks, on Virgil, Æn. vi. 764. and the Scholiast interprets μακραίων, ἀθάνατος, in Sophocles, Antig. 999.

[e] It is called DOMVS AETERNA in many inscriptions. Gruter, p. dcclx. 5. dccxc. 5. dcccciii. 6. dccccxiii. 6. &c.

[f] Soles occidere et redire possunt;
Nobis, quum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.
Catullus, v.

Αἰ αἰ, ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπὰν κατὰ κᾶπον ὄλωνται,
Ἢ τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινα, τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὖλον ἄνηθον,
Ὕστερον αὖ ζώοντι, καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι·
Ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροὶ ἢ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,
Ὁππότε πρῶτα θάνωμες, ἀνακοοὶ ἐν χθονὶ κοίλᾳ,
Εὕδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον.

'Alas! the tender herbs and flow'ry tribes,
Though crush'd by Winter's unrelenting hand,
Revive and rise when vernal Zephyrs call.
But we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
Bloom, flourish, fade and fall,—and then succeeds
A long, long, silent, dark, oblivious sleep;
A sleep, which no propitious Pow'r dispels,
Nor changing seasons, nor revolving years.'
Moschus, Epitaph. Bion.

In Seneca's Troades, the Chorus says, 271.

'Verum est? an timidos fabula decipit
Umbras corporibus vivere conditis? &c.
Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil,' &c.

Where the poet, to introduce this fashionable Epicurean doctrine, makes his Chorus speak inconsistently and out of character; inconsistently, as may be seen vers. 158.

II. The gospel is truth, as it is the accomplishment of the prophecies of future favours made under the law. Christ was the prince of peace, the light of the Gentiles, the deliverer of the captives, the preacher of glad tidings, the founder of an everlasting kingdom in a more exalted sense than was commonly imagined by the Jews before his coming.

III. Lastly. In the law was contained an image and representation of good things to come: in the gospel those good things are brought to light. The gospel then is truth, in opposition to the Jewish dispensation, as it is the substance and reality of all those things which are figured by the law; or as they were mere shadows compared to that solid and substantial truth which Christ has discovered to us.

'Felix Priamus, —— nunc Elysii
Nemoris tutis errat in umbris,' &c.

and out of character, because in the heroic ages, in the time of the Trojan war, the existence of the soul after death was generally believed, according to Homer.

END OF THE
DISCOURSES CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

RICHARD EARL OF BURLINGTON,

TRUSTEE FOR THE LECTURE

APPOINTED BY

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE, ESQ.

THESE REMARKS

ARE INSCRIBED BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN JORTIN.

PREFACE.

WHAT is here offered to the Public is not a regular treatise, but only a collection of detached Remarks on Ecclesiastical History and antient Writers, in which the order of time is neither strictly observed nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is bestowed upon the dates of years. This is a necessary premonition to the reader, who else would seek what he will not find.

Yet was it designed, slight and imperfect as it is, for the service of *Truth*, by one who would be glad to attend and grace *her* triumphs; as her soldier, if he has had the honour to serve successfully under her banner; or as a captive tied to her chariot-wheels, if he has, though undesignedly, committed any offence against her.

Greater undertakings on these subjects are a task fit for those who are blessed with conveniencies, spirits, and abilities, and a task sufficient to exercise all their talents; for Ecclesiastical History is a sort of enchanted land, where it is hard to distinguish truth from false appearances, and a maze which requires more than Ariadne's clue.

Whilst exalted geniuses discern with a kind of intuitive knowledge, they who have less penetration may be permitted, now and then, where reason and religion are not injured by it, to pause

and doubt. Not that doubting is desirable and pleasant; but it is rather better than affirming strongly upon slender proofs, or taking opinions upon trust.

And yet there are instances, in ecclesiastical antiquities, of spurious authors, forged records, and frivolous reports, where hesitation at this time would be improper, and where a man is not to remain for ever in suspense, and to hear what every patron has to say who starts up, and pleads the exploded cause of his ragged clients.

The intention of this work is to produce such evidence as may support and confirm the truth of Christianity, and show that the providence of God has appeared in its establishment and in its preservation; to avoid peremptory decisions on some lately controverted questions, and seek out a way between the extremes; not to pronounce those things false which may perhaps be true, nor those things certain which are only probable, nor those things probable which are ambiguous; and to try the experiment, whether by this method a reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than less; to set before men some of the virtues, as well as failings, of the antient Christians, whence they may draw practical inferences; to excite in their hearts a love for Christianity, that best gift of Heaven to mankind, and a respect, though not a superstitious veneration, for those good men, who, if they could not dispute for it altogether so well as the present generation, yet, which is more, could die for it; to reject those trifles which persons of greater zeal than discernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of primitive Christianity; and to add several things of a

miscellaneous and philological kind, which will serve, at least, to diversify the subject. Such is the intention of the Work: may it atone for its defects!

There is some comfort arising from a candid observation of the younger Pliny: 'Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat.' A homely collection of remarkable transactions and revolutions has ever something to recommend it to favour: and if this be true of history, it is likewise true of thoughts and observations on history, if they be not quite impertinent. They who represent it as a perfect loss of time to peruse such authors as the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores* (though they are illustrated by excellent commentators) and the *Byzantine Writers*, have a taste too polite and fastidious; since, where better historians are not to be had, those of an inferior class must supply their place, and become necessary and valuable on many accounts. A French writer is on our side, who says, 'Tout livre est bon,'—Every book is good: for thus he translates the Latin title of a treatise of Philo Judæus, 'Omnis bonus liber est,'—Every good man is a free man. It was well for him that he did not live within the reach of the Inquisition, which might have taken this as a reflection on the 'Index Expurgatorius.'

The author would willingly escape the dislike of *some* of those persons with whom perhaps he will be found not entirely to agree. He and they are engaged in the same common cause; and he hopes that, for the sake of many remarks contained in this work, they will excuse the rest; as on his side, a diversity of sentiments, in some points, lessens not the regard and value which he has for them, and which they so justly deserve.

In one respect he pretends to be extremely like Joseph Mede. 'I have a conceit,' says that excellent person, 'that some opinions are in some sort fatal to some men, and therefore I can with much patience endure a man to be contrary-minded, and have no inclination to contend with him.—There is more goes to persuasion than reasons and demonstrations, and that is not in my power.—There are few men living who are less troubled to s others differ from them in opinion than I am; whether it be a virtue or a vice, I know not.'

One of the noblest uses which can be made of Christian antiquities would be, to learn wisdom, and union, and moderation, from the faults, indiscretions, and follies, and from the prudence, charity, and piety, of our predecessors; to observe carefully what was good and what was blameable in remoter ages, and thence to improve ourselves, as we are a Christian nation, by removing the blemishes and defects, from which perhaps we are not free, and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected.

A Christian society, formed upon such a plan, would not altogether answer the fair and bright idea which the imagination represents, because perfection dwells not here below, and some bad materials must of necessity enter into the structure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church which the beloved disciple had the pleasure to see 'coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, who had no need of the sun neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof.' Rev. xxi.

For this excellent end and purpose the Divine Providence seems to have preserved ecclesiastical records, and has commanded devouring Time to respect them, that posterity might receive instruction from those venerable and silent monitors, and not want examples to shun and to follow.

Christianity, reduced to its principles, is more plain and simple than is commonly imagined, and is calculated for general utility.

When the first teachers of the Gospel, the apostles of Jesus, died, their authority, in a great measure, died with them, and devolved not upon their disciples—but it still lives in their writings.

Christianity, though so much of it ever subsisted as to distinguish it advantageously from Paganism, Judaism, Mohammedism, Deism, varied considerably, and adopted several disagreeing non-essentials, according to the times and the people who entertained it.

A clear and unpolluted fountain, fed by secret channels with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and takes a long and winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes.

When Christianity became a bulky system, one may trace in it the genius of the loquacious and ever-wrangling Greeks; of the enthusiastic Africans, whose imagination was sublimed by the heat of the sun; of the superstitious Ægyptians, whose fertile soil and warm climate produced monks and hermits, swarming like animals sprung from the impregnated mud of the Nile; and of the ambitious and political Romans, who were resolved to rule over the world in one shape or other. To this we may add the Jewish zeal for

trifles, arising from a contracted illiberal mind; the learned subtilty of the Gentile philosophers; and the pomp and ceremony of Paganism.

As soon as Christian societies began, debates began; and as soon as Christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent. It is not in the wit or in the power of man, or rather it is an impossibility, to prevent diversity of opinions, since this is the unavoidable result of human imperfection and human liberty, and is not to be removed, unless we had more light, or less agency.

It is related of a grave Roman magistrate, that when he came to Greece as proconsul, he assembled together the philosophers at Athens, the head-quarters of wit and logic, and told them that he was much concerned at their dissensions, and advised them to agree at last in their opinions, and offered them his authority and assistance to reunite and reconcile them; upon which they all agreed, in laughing at him for his pains. Cicero de Leg. i. 20.

Councils after councils convened to settle the differences amongst Christians; and sometimes they met so frequently, that they might be called *Quarter-Sessions* as well as *Councils*. But Gregory Nazianzen, a man of learning, a Christian, a bishop, and a father of the church, has told us, that for his part he chose to avoid all such assemblies, because he never saw any that had good success, and that did not rather increase than lessen dissensions and quarrels. Epist. lv. and in many other places, where he repeats the same complaints, in verse and in prose.

The Christians had never agreed concerning the time of keeping Easter; but when Victor was

bishop of Rome, about A. D. 196, the contest grew warm, and Victor excommunicated, or attempted to excommunicate, the Asiatic churches which would not comply with his infallibility; for which Irenæus reproved him, as he well deserved. Thus the domineering spirit began to exert itself betimes. The council of Nice afterwards settled the affair, and then the few Quartodecimans who stood out were called heretics, according to the custom of calling every thing heresy that offends the majority. But they must have been a stubborn and refractory set of people, to wrangle on about such a trifle, and not to yield to the far greater number in a thing of no consequence to faith or morals. They should have agreed to break the egg at the same end with their neighbours. If the upper side has been sometimes imperious and over-ruling, the lower has been as perverse and unpersuasible.

When the fathers assembled at Ephesus, and, headed by Cyril of Alexandria, had decreed that Nestorius should be deposed, and that the Virgin-Mother of our Saviour should be called 'Mother of God,' the people of Ephesus, who had been in miserable fears and anxieties, with transports of joy embraced the knees and kissed the hands of the bishops; a people, as we may suppose, warm, and sprightly, and very much in earnest. Their Pagan ancestors had signalized themselves by their zeal for Diana.

If general councils have dogmatically decreed strange things, little, national, protestant synods have often acted in a manner full as arbitrary. One that was held in France, A. D. 1612, offended at something that *Piscator* had taught concerning *Justification*, compelled all who should go into

orders to take this oath: 'I receive and approve all that is contained in the confession of faith of the reformed churches of this nation, and promise to persevere therein to my life's end, and never to believe or teach any thing not conformable to it: and because some have contested about the sense of the eighteenth article, which is concerning justification, I declare and protest before God, that I understand it according to the sense received in our churches, approved by national synods, and conformable to the word of God, which is, that our Saviour was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our stead; that all the obedience which he paid to the law is imputed to us; and that our justification consists, not only in the remission of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness.—And I promise never to depart from the doctrine received in our churches, and to submit to the regulations of national synods on this subject.' Synodes Nationaux, &c. par Aymon. These men would no more have parted with an inch of their theological system, than the Muscovites once would with an inch of their beards.

Here follows another Decree, made in France A. D. 1620.

'I swear and promise before God and this holy assembly, that I receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrine taught and decided by the national synod of Dort.—I swear and promise that I will persevere in it all my life long, and defend it with all my power, and never depart from it in my sermons, college-lectures, writings, or conversation, or in any other manner, public or private. I declare also and protest, that I reject and con-

demn the doctrine of the Arminians, because &c.—So help me God as I swear all this without equivocation or mental reservation.'

They should have thus prefaced the Ordinance: 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things which follow,' &c.

To compel any one to swear that he will never alter his opinions about controversial divinity, is a grievous imposition. It might have made some unstable men go over to popery out of resentment, and say, 'If I must surrender body, soul, sense, and understanding, the church of Rome shall have them, and not you.'

Thus,

'Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra:'

whilst Christianity blushes and grieves that she can say so little in behalf of her children.

I pass over the synod of Dort, in which the prevailing party oppressed, as they often do, the wise and the learned, and entailed an irrational and uncharitable system on their posterity.

It is said that pope Innocent, the tenth (I think), when the Jansenian controversy was so warmly agitated, told his learned librarian, Lucas Holstenius, that he was very uneasy about it, and unwilling to decide it, because it was a point which he understood not, and had never studied. Holstenius replied, that it seemed not necessary for his holiness, at that time of life, to begin to study it, and much less to decide it, since it was an intricate subject, which had divided not only the Christian world, but the greatest philosophers of antiquity; that if the contending parties were left to themselves, after they had reasoned, and

railed, and wrangled, and declaimed, and preached, and written against one another, and eased themselves that way, they would at last sit down and be quiet for very weariness, or for want of hearers and readers: which advice seemed not at all amiss to the pope, and was favourably received, but not followed.

Postellus was a scholar and a fanatic, two things that are seldom found together. Latin and Greek helped to damage his head, and Hebrew quite overset him. He gave into cabbalistic interpretations of the Old Testament, and believed in the revelations of some Sibyl, some daughter of Esdras, who prophesied in his days, and was one of those who want to let in new light upon the church, whilst they want more to have the light shut out, and the flaws and crevices patched and stopped in the ὑπερῷον, in the upper chamber at home. The poor man was accused of heresy; upon which, he entered boldly into the lion's den, surrendered himself a prisoner to the inquisitors at Venice, offering to take his trial, and to demonstrate his innocence; and thus gave an additional proof of his disorder, whilst, with the adventurous lover in the fable,

> 'Tænarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
> Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum
> Ingressus, manesque adiit, regemque tremendum,
> Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.'

Postellus, like Orpheus, found favour in the sight of the *infernal powers*: they behaved themselves, who would believe it! as philosophers and Christians upon the occasion, and did him justice; for, after a fair hearing, they passed sentence on him, declaring that he was not a *heretic*,

but only *mad*; 'Postellum non esse hæreticum, sed tantum amentem.' Lettres de Simon, i. 23. If the inquisitors would act thus, it would be better for their prisoners in this world, and for themselves in the next. It will then be found a poor excuse for their cruelty, that it helped to fill the church with nominal catholics, and to keep up an unity of exoteric faith in the bond of ignorance, fear, and hypocrisy.

Men will compel others, not to think with them, for that is impossible; but to say they do it upon which they obtain full leave, not to think or reason at all, and this is called *Unity*; which is somewhat like the behaviour of the Romans, as it is described by a brave countryman of ours in Tacitus,—'Ubi *solitudinem* faciunt, *pacem* appellant.'

Disputing enflames fiery zeal, and men bestow blows upon their antagonists, especially when arguments fall short. 'Invalidum ursis caput, vis maxima in brachiis et in lumbis,' says Solinus. If their hands be tied, they bestow a plentiful effusion of curses, and denounce divine judgments; but if they be at full liberty, they bestow both: and then cruelty is called charity, charity to the soul; and this same charity, as it is of a fruitful and diffusive nature, produces anathemas, informations, calumnies, banishments, imprisonments, confiscations, inquisitions, and so forth.

Tillemont, speaking of the scandalous persecution in the reign of Constantius, when the *Arians* oppressed the *Consubstantialists*, and warmed with his subject, breaks out into these reflections:—'Conviction and persuasion cannot be

brought about by the imperious menaces of princes; nor is there any room left for the exercise of reason, when a refusal to submit brings on banishment and death. Such doctrines proceed from the invention of men, not from the Spirit of God, who forces and compels no one against his will.' His observations are just: you can no more subdue the understanding with blows, than beat down a castle with syllogisms. A lucid ray shot through the soul of this superstitious, though else valuable writer, as a flash of lightning in a dark night. There is, indeed, between the human understanding and truth, a natural and eternal alliance, which is suspended and disordered by ignorance, passion, bigotry, prejudice, and selfishness, but can never be totally broken. When a man suffers, and sees his friends suffer, for conscience sake, he perceives the beauty of the sacred rule, 'Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them:' but when the orthodox persecute the heterodox, this pious author winks hard, and can see no great harm in it. No more could Augustin, when upon second thoughts, but not the wisest, he contended for the doctrine of persecution, in some letters which Bayle has taken to pieces very handsomely, in his Philosophical Commentary; happy, if he had always so exercised his abilities, and had left his *Manichæans* to shift for themselves! Sarah, says Augustin, and Hagar, are types of the catholic church, and of the heretics. When Hagar offends her mistress, this is downright rebellion: when Sarah beats Hagar, this is due correction. So is it with the spiritual and the ungodly; they are always at variance,

always buffeting and bruising each other; but the bastinadoes of the righteous are sanctified by the good intention, and by the salutary effects.

Socrates the historian, like an honest man, censures Theodosius, an orthodox bishop, for persecuting the Macedonians, vii. 3.; upon which Valesius thus delivers his opinion: 'Celebris quæstio est,' &c. It is a celebrated and much controverted question, whether it be lawful for catholics, and particularly for bishops, to persecute heretics. I think it is necessary to have recourse to a *distinction*. It is certainly unlawful to vex them, as Theodosius did, for the sake of extorting money; and also to prosecute them as criminals, and to thirst after their blood, as Idatius, and some other bishops of Spain, acted towards the Priscillianists. But it is and ever was permitted to the catholics to implore the aid of princes and magistrates against heretics, that they may be restrained, and kept in order, and that they may not insolently exalt themselves above the catholics, or insult and deride the catholic religion. Augustin, indeed, confesses that he had formerly been of opinion, that heretics should not be harassed by catholics, but rather allured by all kind of gentle methods. Yet afterwards he changed his opinion, having learned by experience that the laws made by the emperors against heretics had proved the happy occasion of their conversion; and he observes that the converted Donatists had acknowledged that they never should have returned to the church, but have lived and died in their errors, if they had not been, in a manner, incited and attracted by the punishments and mulcts of the imperial laws. This passage of Augustin, which is very elegant, is in

the xlviiith Epistle to Vincentius, to which may be added, what he has said in the xxiiid ch. of the first book against Gaudentius.

In some places which Valesius knew, and in some places which he knew not, the 'Odium Theologicum,' like a poisonous tree, has reared its head and spread its arms, and the neighbouring plants, instead of receiving shelter and protection, have sickened and withered beneath its baleful influence; yet was it a friendly covering to weeds and nettles, and the fox lodged safely at its root, and birds of ill omen screamed in its branches.

The groundless surmises of a booby, or of a bigot, have hurt many a man of sense, and qualified him to be registered in an Appendix to 'Pierius de Infelicitate Literatorum.' Where arbitrary power has prevailed, nothing has proved more profitable than either obsequious dulness, or a political palsy in the head, nodding and assenting to all,

'Omnia omnibus annuens;'

as Catullus says of old age.

Opinions start up, and flourish, and fall into disgrace, and seem to die; but, like Alpheus and Arethusa, they only disappear for a time, and rise into light, and into favour again.

What men call heresy, is often a local and a secular crime; for what is heresy in one century, and in one country, is sound doctrine in another: and in some disputes, as in the Nestorian and the Pelagian controversies, to mention none besides, it is a nice thing to settle the boundaries between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy, and the only way to be safe is to have recourse to 'implicit faith,' and to imitate the prudent monk, who when Satan would have drawn him into heresy, by asking him

what he believed of a certain point, answered, 'Id credo quod credit Ecclesia.' But, 'Quid credit Ecclesia?' said Satan. 'Id quod ego credo,' replied the other: and Nestorius, if he would have slept in his own bed, should have said, 'Id credo quod credit Sanctissimus Cyrillus.' Nestorius perhaps suffered no more than he deserved, because he had been a persecutor himself; but such violent proceedings about such points, in different times and places, have inclined many persons to suspect that in those assemblies, some were talkative, quarrelsome, disingenuous, and overbearing, whilst others were passive dolts, and 'pedarii senatores.' Every age has continued to produce wranglers of this kind, who now have the rest which they would not give other people; and whose works follow them, and are at rest also.

Theodosius the first made severe laws against heretics, about A. D. 380, and required of all his subjects that they should follow 'the faith of Pope Damasus, and of Peter of Alexandria;' for which and such like holy and wholesome ordinances, to be found in the Theodosian Code, he is extolled by Tillemont and many others, as a man of God. The best thing that can be said for him is, that he was not, on these occasions, as bad as his word, but threatened more than he performed. As to Damasus, whatsoever his faith were, it had been better for him to have lived and died a presbyter, and one cannot say of him that he 'fought a good fight,' when he fought for his bishopric. His braves slew many of the opposite party, and great was the fury of the religious ruffians on both sides, in this holy war. Pious times, and much to be honoured or envied!

What is to be done then with one who is, or

who is accounted or whispered to be erroneous? Why, 'Distinguendum est:' you must not shed his blood, nor enrich yourself with his spoils; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary: ways, which resemble the method of Italian assassins, to beat a man with satchels of sand: no blood is shed, and no bones are broken, but the patient dies by the operation.

A gentleman and a scholar, as Valesius was, should have nothing to do with such 'distinctions:' he ought rather to 'distinguish' himself from the vulgar by a larger mind, by detesting persecution in every shape, were it only for this reason, that it is the bane of letters; by accounting all the learned and ingenious, wheresoever dispersed, or howsoever distressed, as brethren, and by loving and serving them, unless they be 'rude and insolent, vitious and immoral.' Would Valesius have had such countrymen of his as Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Bochart, Blondel, Daillé, sent to inhabit the Bastille, or the Galleys? would he have had them directed, corrected, and insulted by a king's confessor, and by persons who knew nothing besides their breviary, if peradventure they knew that? This is not said to insinuate that the Gallican church had not in his time, and in all times, many excellent men: nothing can be further from the author's thoughts: but the fomenters of oppression and persecution have been usually either void of letters, or learned dunces at the best; and have accounted it an insufferable impudence in any man to be wiser and more knowing than themselves. How could Valesius even name Augustin, who, ingenious as he certainly was, and respectable as he may be on other accounts, yet by the weak things which zeal,

not ill-nature, urged him to say on this subject, tarnished in some degree his own reputation, and espoused a cause full of absurdities which all the wit of man cannot defend, and of spots which all the water of the ocean cannot wash off?

In this world, in this great infirmary, among other distempers with which poor mortals are afflicted, is an intemperate zeal, or a spirit of party, which, when it arises to a certain pitch, is not to be restrained by the gentle bands of reason: they are broken asunder, as a thread touched with fire. The imagination then plays her part, and raises an ugly phantom, and the man spends his rage upon it, and sometimes by mistake strikes at his friend,

'—— et fit pugil, et medicum urget.'

Whilst the inconveniencies are no greater than this, we should patiently bear with the defects and disorders of such men, as with the frowardness of those who are in pain, and, as Seneca says, 'more optimorum parentum, qui maledictis suorum infantium arrident;' like tender parents, who smile at the little perversities of their children; for there are old as well as young children, and perhaps more indulgence is due to the former than to the latter, since they cannot be spoiled by it, being past cure.

And here the civil magistrate is of excellent use, to keep the peace among his fractious subjects, or at least to keep them from doing one another a bodily mischief. Forbear to draw your sword upon your adversary, says Minerva to Achilles; abuse him as much and as long as you will:

Ἀλλ' ἄγε λῆγ' ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἕλκεο χειρί·
Ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνείδισον, ὡς ἔσεται περ.

But worse than fanatical fervour is the sedate spirit of religious tyranny, arising from the lust of dominion, from sordid self-interest, and from atheistical politics, taking its measures, and pursuing its ends deliberately, void of all regard to truth, and of every tender sentiment of pity and humanity.

Thus Christianity degenerated, and things went on from bad to worse, from folly to corruption, from weakness to wickedness; and then the Reformation made considerable amendments.

THE Christian world is now divided into the reformed and unreformed, or rather into those who are not, and those who are, members of the church of Rome. The latter, as they deal least in reason, are the most disposed to use the illuminating arguments above mentioned, which serve as a 'succedaneum' in the place of reason. They would willingly force upon us a mode of Christianity which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Our religious establishment is far better and highly valuable, and we should be ungrateful if we did not esteem it; but the more simple and unexceptionable a religion is, the dearer will it be to those who understand it, and know what it is to enjoy it. In such a religion Charity would be a gainer, and Faith would be no loser, and it would be an easier task to satisfy doubters, to bring over infidels, and to re-unite believers. Before the Jews shall be converted, and the Gentiles flow into the church, it is reasonable to suppose, that in the Christian world there will be more harmony, more mutual compliance and forbearance, than at present is to be found.

As the opposers of the Gospel have frequently had recourse to arguments 'ad hominem,' and

have taken advantage from modern systems, and from the writings of divines of this or that persuasion; so the defenders of Revelation have often found themselves under a necessity of reducing things to the venerable Christianity of the New Testament, and of adventuring no further; and of declining the rest as not essential to the cause, and to the controversy.

The removal even of small defects, and improvement from good to better, should always be the object of every man's warm wishes, and modest and peaceable endeavours. Modest and peaceable they ought certainly to be; for there is a reverence due to the public, to civil society, to rulers and magistrates, and to the majority; and decency and prudence are neither *marks* of the *beast*, nor that *worldly wisdom* which stands condemned in the Gospel. In all such endeavours great care and discretion are requisite. Difficulties of various sorts present themselves, and difficulties not to be slighted, some of which shall be passed over in silence, because they might possibly rather tend to irritate than to appease, and give an offence which should be industriously avoided. There is a fear of consequences, arising in cautious and diffident minds, a fear of losing what is valuable by seeking what is desirable; there is a wide-spread indifference towards everything of a serious kind, and it is sadly increased by that thoughtless dissipation and those expensive follies which are so prevalent; there is also a settled dislike of the Gospel among too many, who are so ignorant and so prejudiced, as to account Christianity itself to be of no use and importance.

These considerations may incline melancholy persons to imagine, that it is vain to expect

amendments of a more refined nature, which seem to depend on a favourable concurrence of circumstances seldom united, and that we have not a foundation which can bear the superstructure.

It is much to be wished, that more effectual methods could be contrived to suppress vice, and to assist the willing, and to compel the unwilling, to earn their bread honestly in the days of their youth and strength, and thereby to secure the peace of civil society, and to save from ruin so many poor creatures, of whom it is hard to decide, whether they be more wicked, or more miserable, and whose crimes it would be far better to prevent than to punish. If we could do any thing to remove or to diminish these dreadful evils, moral and natural, the love of God and of man would be our reward. But these are things which perhaps are reserved for another generation:

'—— manet nostros felix ea cura nepotes.'

Let us in the mean time be thankful for what we have; for our religion and liberties; for a disposition which may be called national, to acts of charity public or private, and for that portion of learning, and that skill in liberal arts and sciences, which we possess, sufficient to secure us from the contempt of our neighbours, though not to give us any claim to precedency. What we possess of erudition must in a great measure be ascribed to the prevailing force of education, emulation, and custom; for so it is, the love of letters, begun at school, and continued at the University, will usually accompany a man through all the changing scenes of this life, improving his pleasures, and soothing his sorrows. Happy is it,

that the pious and judicious liberality of our ancestors founded and endowed 'those two noble seminaries,' which have been our best security against ignorance, superstition, and infidelity.

ESTOTE PERPETUÆ!

An agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself,

'—— nec me meminisse pigebit Alumnæ,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.'

But let us also do justice to the Theological merits and useful labours of persons of another denomination in this country, of whom 'qui tales sunt, utinam essent nostri.'

Polite Learning, or Humanity, helps to open and enlarge the mind, and to give it a generous and liberal way of thinking, not what is vulgarly termed 'Free-thinking,' and belongs to vulgar understandings. Learning has a lovely child, called Moderation, and Moderation is not afraid or ashamed to show her face in the Theological world; the number of her friends is increased, and, whilst our civil constitution subsists, they are in no danger of being sewed up in a bag with a Monkey, a Viper, a Wit, and a Free-thinker, and flung into the next river. That 'Liberty of Prophesying' may prevail, and that 'profane Licentiousness' may be restrained, are wishes which should always be joined together.

'AND now, if men will say I persuade to indifferency, I must bear it as well as I can. I am not yet without remedy, as they are; for patience will help me, and reason cannot cure them.' The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, learned, charitable, and sweet-tempered bishop, who, with

a noble candour and generous openness, pleads the cause of 'Liberty of prophesying,' and who never was censured for it by any man worth the mentioning, though probably he was reviled by those who called 'Tillotson an Atheist.' If these two excellent prelates, and Erasmus, and Chillingworth, and John Hales, and Locke, and Episcopius, and Grotius, and many who shall not be named, had been contemporaries, and had met together *freely* to determine the important question, 'What makes a man a Christian, and what profession of faith should be deemed sufficient,' they would probably have agreed, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions which they might all have had on some Theological points. There have been others indeed, who on such an occasion would have given us an ample catalogue of 'Necessaries,' the inference from which would have been, that it must needs be a very learned, and a very subtle, and a very ingenious thing to be a good Christian: for some of these 'necessaries' are of so refined a nature, that the understanding can hardly lay hold of them, or the memory retain them:

> 'Ter frustra comprensa, manus effugit imago,
> Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.'

Some of the best defenders of Christianity, down from Origen, (no saint, it seems, but worth a hundred and fifty saints who might be mentioned,) have been unkindly used and traduced by injudicious Christians, for a harder epithet shall not be given to them. 'Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?' Even civil war has ceased, when the common enemy has been at the door, and mad factions have joined to repel him, and to crown the deserving with laurel garlands; but Christians, when besieged by powerful and

formidable infidels, have found leisure and stomach to contend, whether the light which shone about Christ at his transfiguration was created or uncreated.

WHAT has been here suggested was with a view, not to dictate, no not even to advise, but only to moderate a prejudice which lies deep in the heart of an Englishman and a Churchman, that as his own vales, hills, rivers, and cities, surpass in beauty and convenience any thing that the world affords; so his own religious constitution is free even from all appearance of defect, and shadow of imperfection. This may be called, 'amare Focos et Lares:' the first we easily excuse, as an amiable weakness in the Englishman; let us show the same favour to the other in the Churchman: but a little more candour and a little less partiality would do us no harm. The author aims at nothing beyond this, and therefore 'enters into no particulars.' If the general intimation be proper, from whom can it come more properly than from one whose name or address can give no sanction to it, and raise no prejudices in its behalf; so that it must rely upon its own reasonableness, and stand destitute of all other recommendation?

As to particulars, his opinion would never be asked in such cases, and, if it were asked, he would perhaps, like Simonides, desire a day to consider, and then another, not through an affectation of humility, nor, if he may be credited, through hope of pleasing, or fear of displeasing, but through a real diffidence, and a consciousness of the difference between discerning what may be speculatively right, and judging what is practicable. An application to Moral and Theological studies will

lead a person to some skill in the first, if he have a mind open to conviction; but the latter requires a genius and a knowledge of a different sort.

Besides all this, the middle course, between too low and too high, between the Serpent and the Altar, is somewhat hard to keep:

'Neu te dexterior tortum declinet in *Anguem*,
Neve sinisterior pressam rota ducat ad *Aram*.'
Ovid. Met. ii. 138.

It may therefore be more adviseable for him to examine himself in serious silence, and to consider what passes within, and in his own little circle, where the circumference almost touches the centre;

Ὅτι οἱ ἐν μεγάροισι κακόνι' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται·

which single line, according to the wise Socrates, contains a complete system of philosophy.

If he desire that others would receive with Christian candour these suggestions, which, whatsoever they be, proceed from a good intention, and are not the language of self-interest, he desires no more than he is very willing to return. But be that as it will, he is not at all disposed to contend about them.

'Errare potest: litigiosus esse non vult.'

Such contentions beget, or keep up enmity; and he had rather glide through the world, like a shadow, obscurely and quietly, and meet with few censurers; for 'to have none, is a blessing which never was designed for a writer on ecclesiastical subjects.'

For this, and for other good reasons, 'Authors should avoid, as much as they can, replies and rejoinders, the usual consequences of which are, loss of time, and loss of temper.' Happy is he who is engaged in controversy with his own passions, and comes off superior; who makes it his endeavour

that his follies and weaknesses may die before him, and who daily meditates on mortality and immortality.

Let us hear a wise man, who thus speaks to himself, and to us: 'May my last hours find me occupied in amending and improving my heart! that I may be able to say to God, Have I violated thy commands? Have I ever accused thee, and complained of thy government? I have been sick and infirm, because it was thy appointment; and so have others, but I willingly. I have been poor according to thy good pleasure, but contented. I have had no dignities; thou hast withheld them, and I have not thought them even worthy of a wish. Didst thou see me sad and dejected on these accounts? Did I not appear before thee with a serene countenance, and cheerfully complying with thy sacred orders? Deal with me, and dispose of me as thou wilt; thy will is mine: and if any one shall say that thou hast been unkind to me, I will defend and maintain thy cause against him. Wilt thou that I depart hence? I go; and I return thee my sincerest thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call me hither to this great assembly and entertainment, and hast permitted me to contemplate thy works, to admire and adore thy providence, and to comprehend the wisdom of thy conduct. May death seize me writing and meditating such things!'

It is needless to say whence these reflections are taken; the owner is so well known: but they can never be too often cited; and if the Stoical self-sufficiency which breathes in some parts of them were corrected by Christian humility, they would be to many of us a 'proper lesson' for the day, and remind us of the resignation that is due to an all-wise and all-gracious Providence.

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REMARKS

REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

It has been often observed that Christianity made its appearance in the most proper time, and under a favourable concurrence of circumstances. Something has been said on this head in my fourth Discourse on the Christian Religion: what is now offered to the reader is partly a continuation of the same subject; and these Remarks are intended, in some measure, as a supplement to those Discourses.

Christianity began to gain ground in Judæa and its neighbourhood in the reign of Tiberius, a very wicked prince, but who was so occupied with his lusts, and with his cruelty towards considerable persons whom he hated, envied, or feared, and was also naturally so slow and indolent, that either he heard little of this remote and rising sect, or thought it beneath his notice, and so did it no harm.

It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity towards Christ, and accounted him a man unjustly accused, and an extraordinary person, might be moved, by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a hero, and the son of some deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius; but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the senate that Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably disposed towards Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians [a]. This report rests principally upon the authority of Tertullian, who was very capable of being deceived, and Eusebius had

[a] See Le Clerc Hist. Eccl. p. 324.

it from him. Eccl. Hist. ii. 2. The antient Christians might have been misinformed in this, as in some other points. Tiberius was of an irreligious disposition, and a fatalist, and little disposed to increase the number of the gods and the burthen of Atlas. 'Circa deos ac religiones negligentior: quippe addictus mathematicæ; persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi [b].' He hated foreign superstitions, Ægyptian and Jewish rites. 'Externas cæremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit [c].' He and the senate had expelled the Jews from Rome [d]; and about the time of Christ's crucifixion he had destroyed an illustrious family, for this amongst other reasons, that divine honours had been paid to one Theophanes, an ancestor of theirs. 'Datum erat crimini quod Theophanem Mitylenæum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset: quodque defuncto Theophani cœlestes honores Græca adulatio tribuerat [e].' Augustus commended Caius for not worshipping at Jerusalem. 'Caium nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset, collaudavit [f]:' and Tiberius made it a rule, 'omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observare,' as he says of himself in Tacitus Ann. iv. 37. Observe also that the Jews persecuted the apostles and slew Stephen; and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every house, and, haling men and women, committed them to prison; and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.

The custom which the Romans had to deify and adore their emperors, most of them after their decease, and some of them during their lives, even though they were the vilest of mankind; the apotheosis of Antinoüs, Adrian's favourite; the contempt which many emperors, as Tiberius, and Caius, and Nero [g], showed towards their gods; the endeavour of Heliogabalus [h] to suppress the worship of the

[b] Sueton. Tiber. 69.
[c] Sueton. Tiber. 36.
[d] Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus.
[e] Tacitus Ann. vi. 18.
[f] Sueton. Aug. 93.

[g] Religionum usquequaque contemtor, præter unius deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita asprevit, ut urinâ contaminaret. Suet. Ner. 56.

[h] Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem,

antient deities, and to introduce a ridiculous god of his own; the strange Ægyptian deities which had crept into Italy, and were there adored by some and detested by others; the liberty which many learned persons had taken with the popular religion[1]: these things had a tendency to wean the pagans by slow degrees from their attachment to idolatry, and to facilitate the worship of one God and Father of all, who by his Son, or his Word, reconciled to himself and instructed mankind, and by his Spirit assisted virtuous minds in their progress to wisdom and happiness, as a religion more simple, and noble, and philosophical, and reasonable than paganism.

The senate, says Dio, ordered the temples of Isis and Serapis to be pulled down, and afterwards would not suffer any to be erected 'intra pomœrium.' Τοὺς νάους, οὓς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποίηντο, καθελεῖν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν, ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἱδρύσαντο. xl. p. 142.

A little after the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, the haruspices ordered the temples of these deities to be demolished. Dio xlii. p. 196.

How much the goddess Isis and her sacred rites were despised, may be seen in Propertius ii. 24. Lucan viii. 831. ix. 158. Juvenal vi. 489. 526. ix. 22. not to mention several others. The apotheosis of the Roman emperors is made the subject of the utmost contempt and ridicule by Seneca in his Ἀποκολοκύντωσις.

The Romans knew not much of Christianity, and in a great measure overlooked it, till its professors were so considerably increased that they could not easily be destroyed.

Christianity at first was more likely to prosper under bad than under good emperors, if these were tenacious of their religious rites and ceremonies. The bad emperors had usually other crimes and other mischief in view, and no leisure

et Palladium, et Ancilia, et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur, &c. Lampridius 3.

[1] It is related somewhere of Diogenes the cynic, that, to show his contempt of sacrifices, he took a louse, and cracked it upon the altar of Diana.

to plague such a little sect,—little when compared to paganism.

And accordingly from the death of Christ to Vespasian, for about the space of thirty-seven years, the Romans did not much mind the progress of the gospel. They were ruled by weak, or frantic, and vicious emperors; the magistrates and senators, and every worthy man of any note, stood in continual fear for their own lives. Under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the empire was a scene of confusion, desolation, and misery.

Nero indeed destroyed several christians at Rome, but it was for a supposed crime, of which all the world knew them to be innocent; so that this cruel treatment raised compassion, and rather did service than harm to the christian cause, and the persecution was soon over.

If Claudius and the senate in his time had known the nature of the gospel in this point, that it was directly opposite to the national religion, and that, if it prospered, paganism must decline and come to nothing, and that every Christian thought himself bound to spread his opinions by all arts and means which were not immoral, they would have endeavoured to suppress it effectually; but it lay screened then under judaism, and the Jews had leave to worship God in their own way.

The Christians who suffered under Nero are called 'malefici' by Suetonius, c. 16. that is, sorcerers, magicians. Probably the pagans had heard of their miracles, and ascribed them to magic arts, which yet was a kind of indirect acknowledgment of them.

Juvenal iii. 41.

> Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio—motus
> Astrorum ignoro: funus promittere patris, &c.

where the old scholiast says, 'motus astrorum: *maleficus* non sum.' But here I doubt it should be, 'mathematicus non sum;' which is a more literal interpretation.

> Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.—
> Consulit ictericæ lento de funere matris,
> Ante tamen de te, &c. vi. 562.

[With the reader's leave, I will step out of my way to correct a passage in this poet, xiii. 64.

Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero, vel *mirandis* sub aratro.
Piscibus inventis, et fœtæ comparo mulæ,
Sollicitus, tanquam lapides effuderit imber,
Examenque apium longa consederit uva
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis
Gurgitibus *miris*, et lactis vortice torrens.

Henninius has given in the text 'mirandis.' Lubin says we must read 'mirantis,' not 'miranti.' Gataker conjectures 'liranti.' These honest men were all disposed to feed upon acorns, whilst other copies had 'miranti,' which was very well explained by Britannicus, 'sub aratro miranti, ut rei inanimæ dederit sensum. Miranti aratro is just such an expression as 'irato sistro,' xiii. 93. 'esuriens ramus olivæ,' xiii. 99, &c. &c.

I need not observe how flat and unmeaning and unpoetical is the expression 'gurgitibus miris,' and how ill it comes in after 'miranti.' The poet intended to speak of a prodigy, of a river running bloody, which together with showers of blood has been often mentioned amongst prodigies. See Cicero De divin. i. 43. The word which he used was somewhat uncommon, and therefore lost, and ill supplied. He wrote, I believe,

Gurgitibus *miniis*, et lactis vortice torrens.

'Miniis,' that is 'sanguineis, rubris instar minii.' The adjective 'minius' or 'mineus,' from 'minium,' red lead, vermilion, is twice used by Apuleius, 'fulgentium rosarum minius color,' and 'cervicula psittaci circulo mineo.' Faber's Thesaurus. If there were no example extant of the adjective 'minius,' that would not be a sufficient reason to reject the emendation, since the Greek and Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal himself, xi. 94. according to the best copies;

Qualis in *oceano fluctu* testudo nataret.

113.

Litore ab *oceano* Gallis venientibus ....

Catullus, lxiii. according to Scaliger's emendation,

Nimirum *oceano* se ostendit noctifer *imbre*.

And hence Milton, 1.

. . . . . hugest that swim th' ocean stream.

'Minium' in Greek is μίλτος, and the Sibylline oracles speak thus of a bloody shower;

Καὶ ψεκάδες πίπτωσιν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, οἷά τε μίλτος.

The old scholiast says, 'Gurgitibus miris] Aut lacteis, aut sanguineis.' But you have nothing in Juvenal that answers to 'sanguineis,' unless you change 'miris' into 'miniis,' which is also a very slight alteration. The poet might have so contrived it as to have used 'sanguis,' or 'cruor,' or their adjectives; but 'gurgitibus miniis' pleased him better, as it had a more ludicrous cast, and he chose rather to stain his river with red ochre than with blood. It threw a contempt upon portents and prodigies, things which he was not much disposed to believe. Lucian, or whosoever he be who wrote the treatise 'De Dea Syria,' says that the river Adonis was stained with blood every year, ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἑκάστου ἔτεος αἱμάσσεται, καὶ τὴν χροιὴν ὀλέσας, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ φοινείσσει τὸ πολλὸν τοῦ πελάγεος. 'Illud flumen singulis annis cruentatur, suoque amisso colore in mare effunditur, et magnam maris partem inficit.' 8. He adds that an inhabitant of Byblus explained the phænomenon thus: ὁ Ἄδωνις ὁ πόταμος, ὦ ξεῖνε, διὰ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἔρχεται· ὁ δὲ Λίβανος κάρτα ξανθογεώς ἐστι· ἄνεμοι ὧν τρηχέες ἐκείνῃσι τῇσι ἡμέρῃσι ἱστάμενοι τὴν γῆν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπιφέρουσι, ἐοῦσαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ΜΙΛΤΩΔΕΑ· ἡ δὲ γῆ μιν αἱμώδεα τίθησι. 'Adonis flumen, o hospes, venit per Libanum. At Libanus multum rubicundæ terræ habet. Venti ergo vehementes, qui ſtatos illis diebus flatus habent, terram flumini inferunt *minio* valde similem. Hæc illud terra reddit sanguineum.'

This account has been since confirmed by Maundrel in his Voyages.

'Sanguinem pluisse,' says Cicero, 'senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam fluvium fluxisse sanguine.—Sed et decoloratio quædam ex aliqua contagione terrena potest sanguini similis esse.' De div. ii. 27.

Some may think that we ought to read 'gurgitibus miniis, *aut* lactis vortice torrens,' instead of 'et.' But, unless the best manuscripts deceive us, 'et' is often used in a disjunctive sense, and implies much the same as 'aut;' and likewise 'que,' where 've' might seem more proper. Of this I gave some examples in the Miscellaneous Observations.]

AMONGST the miracles recorded in the acts of the apostles is the casting out of evil spirits. In the New Testament, where any circumstances are added concerning the dæmoniacs, they are generally such as show that there was something præternatural in the distemper; for these disordered persons agreed in one story, and paid homage to Christ and to his apostles: which is not to be expected from madmen; of whom some would have worshipped and others would have reviled Christ, according to the various humour and behaviour observable in such persons.

One reason for which the divine providence should suffer evil spirits to exert their malignant powers so much at that time, might be to give a check to sadduceism amongst the Jews, and to Epicurean atheism amongst the Gentiles, and to remove in some measure these two great impediments to the reception of the gospel.

THE first miracle after the ascension of Christ, namely the gift of tongues, was of singular and extraordinary service to christianity. It increased the number of believers at Jerusalem, and engaged the admiration and favour of the people so much, that the enemies of Christ could not accomplish their designs against the disciples, and it served to convey the gospel to distant regions.

It has been said that the gift of tongues continued for a considerable time to be absolutely necessary for the spreading of christianity: but it is to be observed that the scriptures never say so. We may therefore judge for ourselves how far it was needful.

Now at the time of Pentecost there was a great resort of Jews and proselytes from various and remote countries. The gift of tongues conferred upon the disciples served to convince and convert many of these persons, and these

persons served to carry christianity with them to their several homes. Afterwards the Æthiopian eunuch, Cornelius the Roman centurion, Sergius Paulus the proconsul, Dionysius the areopagite, and many others were converted. By these persons, and by the travels of some of the apostles and of their disciples, christianity was spread in the Roman empire and in the East; and then the Greek language, together with human industry in learning other tongues, might be sufficient to convey the gospel as far and as soon as providence intended.

Apollonius Tyaneus, as Philostratus [k] relates, pretended to understand all languages without having learned them. If Philostratus may be credited in this, it is probable that Apollonius, knowing that the christians claimed this gift, took the same honour to himself. He flourished in the times of Nero and of Domitian; and it is to be supposed that he could speak a little of several tongues, for he was a man of parts and a strolling vagabond.

Philostratus also assures us, that, when the mother of Apollonius was in labour, the swans came to attend and assist her; for which he produces no voucher, says Eusebius in Hierocl. p. 517. Now Philostratus, or whosoever was the author of this pretty story, stole the thought from Callimachus:

.....Κύκνοι δὲ Θεοῦ μέλποντες ἀοιδοὶ
Μηόνιον Πακτωλὸν ἐκυκλώσαντο λιπόντες
Ἑβδομάκις περὶ Δῆλον· ἐπήεισαν δὲ λοχείῃ
Μουσάων ὄρνιθες, ἀοιδότατοι πετεηνῶν.

Hymn. in Delum, 249. where these poetical birds perform the same office to Latona.

Clemens Alexandrinus cites Plato as saying that the gods or dæmons had the use of language, and that it appeared from the discourses of dæmoniacs, since in those possessions it was not the man himself, but the dæmon in him who spake by the man's voice. Ὁ Πλάτων δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διάλεκτον ἀπονέμει τινά· μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνειράτων τεκμαιρόμενος καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν· ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονώντων, οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν οὐ φθέγγονται φωνὴν οὐδὲ διάλεκτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπεισιόντων δαιμόνων. Strom. 1. p. 405. Oxon.

[k] Vit. Apoll. p. 25. ed. Par. or Euseb. contr. Hier. p. 517.

edit. I may have overlooked it, but I never could find this place in Plato. There is something a little like it in Porphyry, where Apollo says of himself,

Αυλοῦ δ' ἐκ βροτέοιο φίλην ἐτεκνώσατο φωνήν [1].

Jucundam expirat mortali e gutture vocem.

On which the philosopher observes, Πνεῦμα γὰρ τὸ κατιὸν, καὶ ἀπόῤῥοια ἐκ τῆς ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως, εἰς ὀργανικὸν σῶμα καὶ ἔμψυχον εἰσελθοῦσα, βάσει χρωμένη τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ὀργάνου, φωνὴν ἀποδίδωσιν. 'Spiritus enim e loco superiore delapsus, illaque adeo particula, quæ cœlesti virtute in corpus suis instructum facultatibus animatumque defluxit, animum veluti basim aliquam sortita, vocem per corpus veluti per quoddam instrumentum edit.' Apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. v. 8. These δαιμονῶντες, of whom the philosophers speak, were persons inspired, or supposed to be inspired, by Apollo, Cybele, or other dæmons. In later times the speaking of new languages has been reckoned one of the proofs of being possessed with a dæmon. See Bayle's Dict. *Grandier*, and Michael Psellus De operat. dæmonum, and some instances collected by Cudworth, Intell. Syst. p. 704, 5. That from Fernelius is mentioned by Le Clerc, in his extracts from Cudworth, Bibl. Chois. v. p. 109. He has made a small mistake when he says, 'Un mélancholique que les médecins avoient traité en vain, et qui ne savoit ni Grec ni Latin, se mit à parler ces deux langues.' Fernelius only says that the young gentleman did not understand Greek.

To learn a foreign language so far as to understand it when we read or hear it, is a skill which is not to be acquired without much time and pains. To speak it readily, and pronounce it rightly, is still more difficult: it is what many persons can never accomplish, though they have all the proper helps, as we may see every day; nor can any study and application acquire this habit, unless there be an opportunity of conversing frequently with those whose tongue it is.

If the apostles on the day of Pentecost had expressed

[1] Φίλην φωνὴν may be translated 'suam vocem.' ἐτεκνωσατο forte ἐτεχνώσατο, vel ἐτεχνήσατο, vel τεχνήσατο.

themselves improperly, or with a bad accent, as most people do when they speak a living language which is not natural to them, the hearers, who at that time were not converted to Christianity, would have suspected some fraud, would have taken notice of such faults [m], and censured them; which since they did not, it is to be supposed that they had nothing of that kind to object.

WITHIN forty years after the resurrection of Christ came on the destruction of Jerusalem, a most important event, upon which the credit and the fate of Christianity depended. Christ had foretold it so expressly, that, if he had failed, his religion could not have supported itself. But his predictions were exactly accomplished, and proved him to be a true prophet.

Christ fixed the time also, saying that the days were at hand, and would come before that generation should pass away, and whilst the daughters of Jerusalem, or their children, should be living.

The completion of Christ's predictions has been fully showed by many writers, particularly by Whitby. To him I refer the reader, on Matt. xxiv., and shall here insert in the notes some remarks on this part of the subject, which Dr. Pearce the bishop of Bangor was so kind as to communicate [n]; observing only that Christ foretold,

[m] As the Jews did to Peter, when they said to him, 'Thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech bewrayeth thee.'

[n] Our Saviour, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, applies to the Jews in a prophetic sense this proverbial saying, 'Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.' Matt. xxiv. 28.

The Jewish writers had this maxim among them, that wicked men while they live are to be reckoned amongst the dead. See Drusius on Matt. iv. 4. and viii. 22. See also Luke xv. 32. Ephes. ii. 1. Tim i. v. 6. But wicked men are spoken of in scripture under this figure with still greater propriety, if for their crimes they were devoted to death, and condemned to it by a divine or human sentence. Gen. xx. 3. By the word 'carcase,' Christ means the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven.

In Eusebius E. H. iii. 23. τ ἐθνηκε is explained by Θεῷ τέθνηκε· ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον λῃστής.

Νυνὶ δὲ δημαγωγεῖ ἐν τοῖς ανω νεκροῖς. Aristoph. Ran. act. i. sc. 7. in choro.

See L. Capell. and Grotius on Matt. viii. 22. who says, Νεκροὶ vocan-

1. The total destruction of the city.
2. Of the temple.
3. The coming of false Christs and false prophets, magicians and sorcerers, leading the people to the deserts.
4. Famines.
5. Pestilences.
6. Earthquakes.
7. Fearful sights and great signs from heaven.
8. The persecution of the apostles.
9. The apostasy of some christians.
10. A preservation of the faithful.
11. The spreading of the gospel through the Roman world.
12. The Roman standards defiling the holy place.
13. The city encompassed with armies, walls, and trenches.
14. The retiring of the christians to the mountains.
15. The greatest tribulation that ever was known.
16. The time when these things should happen.
17. The comparative happiness of the barren women, when a mother killed and ate her own child.
18. Wars and rumours of wars, nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.
19. The sea and the waves roaring.

tur homines a vera disciplina, quæ animi vita est, alieni. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ (ait Clemens Alex. Strom. v.) βαρξάρῳ φιλοσοφία νεκροὺς καλουσι τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ καθυποτάξαντας τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πάθεσι ψυχικοῖς. Hausit quoque hæc, ut alia, ab Orientis philosophia Pythagoras, τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων δόξας μιμούμενος, ut de eo scribit Hermippus: siquidem καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐξραίους ἀφίκετο, ut de eo ex Diogene scribit Malchus; unde mos ortus ut his qui cœtu Pythagoreorum essent ejecti, cenotaphia struerentur, quod Hipparcho cuidam factum legimus, &c.

Under the metaphor of eagles, which fly swiftly and seize upon their prey violently, conquerors with their armies are frequently spoken of in scripture. Jeremiah Lament. iv. 19. says, 'Our persecutors are swifter than eagles;' and Hosea viii. 1. says of the king of Assyria, 'He shall come as an eagle against the house of the Lord, because they have transgressed his covenant.' Ezekiel xvii. 3. pronounces a parable under the same figure: 'Thus saith the Lord: A great eagle, with great wings full of feathers, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar;' which the prophet thus explains ver. 12. 'Behold the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof.'

Nor must it be forgotten, that when Moses, Deut. xxviii. 49, &c. threatens the Jews with the destruction of their nation, if they would not

20. The dispersion of the captive Jews through all nations.

21. The continuance of the desolation.

22. A shortening of the days of vengeance, for the sake of the elect.

All which things came to pass.

To bring about this great event, and to certify posterity of its truth, God raised up an illustrious and worthy prince to accomplish it, and an illustrious historian to record it, to record the things of which he was an eye-witness, and in which he had borne a considerable share.

Vespasian was lifted up from obscurity to the empire; he

hearken unto the words of the Lord, the description of the calamities, with which he threatens them, answers so exactly in the most material parts to the final destruction of that people by the Romans, that this seems to have been chiefly and principally in the intention of the prophet; and there the destroying army is spoken of under this very emblem of an eagle: 'The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose language thou shalt not understand.'

The sense of the proverb then is this: Wheresoever the wicked Jews are, there will the Roman eagles, the destroying armies, follow them; and whithersoever they fly, ruin and desolation will overtake them.

Christ had been foretelling to his disciples the destruction of the Jewish nation, and the vengeance which he was to take upon them for their obstinate refusal of him and his doctrine. This he expressed by the coming of the Son of man; and he told them many particulars of what was to happen before and at that great day of visitation. Among others he acquainted them that there would be some impostors, who should set up themselves for the Christ or Messiah of the Jews: 'Wherefore,' says he, 'if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth: Behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not.'—i. e. none but false Christs will be found there. The true coming of Christ will be of another nature; 'not with observation,' Luke xvii. 20. not with a display of his person, but of his power, in the vengeance which he is to take upon the Jews; not restrained to the desert or the chambers, not confined to holes and corners, nor to any one part of Judæa, but extended through every province of it; 'for as the lightning,' says he, 'cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be,' i. e. as extensive and universal over the land, as the lightning shines; the comparison being brought in to show not so much its swiftness, as its wide extent and compass: for 'wheresoever the carcase,' &c. In St. Luke, when our Lord had been describing this calamity which was to befall the Jews, his disciples asked him, 'Where, Lord?' where shall this happen? To which he replied, 'Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.' If then his words contain any direct answer to the question, they must be understood as pointing out the place and extent of the calamity.

was strangely spared and promoted and employed by Nero who hated him. If he had not put an end to the civil wars, and to the great calamities of the empire, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed at the time foretold by Christ. 'Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo,' says Q. Curtius, speaking most probably of Vespasian, x. 9.

Josephus assured Vespasian that he and his son Titus should be emperors, after Nero, and some others, who should reign only a short time. B. J. iii. 8. 'Unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore.' Sueton. Tit. 5. When Josephus

This prophecy was pronounced by our Saviour near forty years, and recorded by St. Matthew near thirty years, before the event was to take place. And, for the literal accomplishment of it, we have the authority of Josephus. He was a general on the side of the Jews in the beginning of that war, and a prisoner at large in the Roman army during the rest of it: he was a party concerned in much of the calamity of his countrymen, and an eye-witness to almost all of it. And besides this it is to be considered, that if he ever had heard of this prophecy, which it is probable he had not; yet as he was a Jew by religion, and a Jewish priest too, he is therefore a witness not to be suspected of partiality in this case, and was every way qualified to give us an exact history of those times; which he has accordingly done, by describing very punctually all the particulars of that terrible destruction.

From his account it may be observed, that the Roman army entered into Judæa on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very route which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east and shining even unto the west.

In the course of his history he gives us a very particular account of the prodigious numbers of such as were slain in Judæa properly so called, in Samaria, the two Galilees, and the region beyond Jordan: and he confirms the prophecy of Christ by making a remarkable observation to this purpose, that 'there was not any the least part of Judæa, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city.'—B. J. v. 3. There, at Jerusalem, the last and finishing stroke was given to the ruin of the church and state; for after a long and sharp siege, in which famine killed as many as the sword, in which the judgments of heaven appeared as visibly as the fury of man, in which intestine factions helped on the desolation which the foreign armies completed, Jerusalem was at last taken, not then a city, but a confused mass of ruins, affording a sadder scene of calamity than the world had ever seen, and exactly fulfilling the words of Christ, Matt. xxiv. 21. 'Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world unto this time, no nor ever shall be.' To which Josephus bears express testimony, and says, that 'the calamities of all nations from the beginning of the world were

made this declaration there was no appearance of such an event. He says that he had received the knowledge of these things in a dream; which was accounted by the Jews to be a lower degree of prophecy, and to have been sometimes granted to them after the prophetic afflatus had ceased at the death of Malachi. Josephus says that Hyrcanus had been favoured with such kind of revelations. Ant. xiii. 12. Bell. Jud. i. 2. He records a prophetic dream of his own, in his Life, § 42. He mentions also strange deliverances vouchsafed to himself from seemingly unavoidable destruction, B. J. iii. 8. He had taken shelter in a cave with

exceeded by those which befel his countrymen on this occasion.'—B. J. i. 1.

Christ foretold, that Jerusalem should be 'encompassed with armies,' Luke xxi. 20. And accordingly it was besieged and taken by the Romans: a circumstance which had no necessary connection with the revolt and conquest of Judæa. For, at the time when Christ spake this, the Roman governor resided in that city, and had troops there sufficient to keep it in obedience; whence it was more probable, that Jerusalem would have continued in a quiet subjection to the Romans, whatever troubles might be raised in other parts of the Jewish dominions.

He foretold, that the Roman ensigns, called 'the abomination of desolation,' ver. 15, should be seen 'standing in the holy place' or temple: an event not to be foreseen by human skill, because very unlikely to happen. The great care which the Jews took at other times not to defile that holy place, and the small strength which it had to defend them long from the Roman arms, as they had twice experienced in the memory of man, were both circumstances which in all human appearance would have kept them from the rash experiment. And yet, against all probability, they fled to the temple, and there made a last and desperate resistance. Having thus defiled it with their own arms, they made it necessary for the Romans to follow them into the sanctuary; so that they took it by storm, and of consequence caused their military ensigns to be 'seen standing' there.

Christ foretold, Matt. xxiv. 2. that when the temple should be taken, 'there should not be left there one stone upon another that should not be thrown down.' And yet the building was so magnificent, that it was esteemed, for cost, for art, and beauty, one of the wonders of the world; whence it was natural to expect that the Romans, according to their usual custom amidst their conquests, would endeavour to preserve it safe and entire. And Josephus, B. J. vi. 2. 4. tells us, that Titus laboured with all his power to save it; but that his soldiers, as if moved δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ, by a divine impulse, would not hearken to his positive and repeated orders, but set fire to every part of it, till it was entirely consumed: and then the ruins were removed, and the soil on which it stood was ploughed up, and not one stone left upon another. See Drusius and Calmet on Matt. xxiv. 2. and Lightfoot's Horæ Hebr. on the same text, where he

forty desperate persons, who were determined to perish rather than to yield, and who proposed to pay him the compliment of killing him first, as the most honourable man in the company. When he could not divert them from their frantic resolution of dying, he had no other refuge than to engage them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other; and at last only he and another remained, whom he persuaded to surrender to the Romans. I would not willingly be imposed upon, or impose upon the reader; but I leave it to be considered whether in all this there might not be something extraordinary, as both Vespasian and Josephus were designed and reserved for extraordinary

quotes for proof of this the Taanith of Maimonides, c. 4. Josephus indeed in B. J. vii. 1. speaking of the temple, says only that it was demolished, without expressly telling us that the foundations of it were digged up. And yet it seems probable that some parts at least of those foundations were digged up, from what he says there in the following chapter concerning one Simon. He lived in Jerusalem, in the upper part of it, near to the temple: and, when the city was taken, he endeavoured to escape by letting himself down with some of his companions into a cavern; where when they had digged but a little way for themselves, he crept out from underground in that very place where the temple had before stood. Therefore, either he crept out in that hollow where the foundation had stood; or, if it was in any other part of the temple, the foundations must have been removed there at least where he worked his way through the ground from the outside to the inside of the temple.

To these circumstances we may add the time. 'This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled,' ver. 34. and again, Matt. xvi. 28. 'There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom;' pointing out to his hearers, that this train of calamities was not to come upon the Jews immediately, nor yet so late but that some then living should see the accomplishment of his prophecies. The fixing of this circumstance had no connection with any thing which might serve for the foundation of human conjecture.

He also foretold, that 'the gospel of his kingdom should be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations,' ver. 14. before this end of the Jewish state should come; than which no circumstance was less likely in all human appearance to happen, if we consider the time when this prophecy was delivered; for we find that within two days afterwards, as himself foretold, Matt. xxvi. 2. and 31. 'all his disciples forsook him and fled,' upon his being apprehended. It could not be expected that they who had deserted his person when alive, would adhere to his cause after his death, and with so much steadiness and courage, as to preach a crucified Jesus in spite of all opposition, through all the nations of the then known earth. And yet this they did with great success; so that St. Paul could say to the Colossians with truth, 'that the gospel was come unto them, as it was in all the world.' i. 6.

purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel and of our Lord. The same providence which raised up and conducted Cyrus, and preserved the [o] rash Macedonian conqueror from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire, that the prophecies might be accomplished, might take the Roman emperor and the Jewish writer under a singular protection for reasons of no less importance. The historian was on all accounts a proper person to deliver these things to posterity, and one to whom the Pagans, the Jews, and the Christians, could have no reasonable objection; he was of a noble family, he had enjoyed the advantage of a good education, he had acted in the war as a general, he had much learning, singular abilities, a fair character, and a great love for his own country. The service which he has done to christianity was on his side plainly undesigned; he never gives even the remotest hint that the Jews suffered for rejecting the Messias. His book had the approbation of Vespasian [p], and Titus, Herod, and Agrippa, and of several persons of distinction, and he wanted not adversaries who would have exposed him if he had advanced untruths; so that though in some other points he might have been capable of deceiving and of being deceived, yet as to the transactions of his own times, he must pass, in general, for a candid, impartial, accurate writer, and has passed for such in the opinion of the most competent judges.

But though we are indebted to him for several particulars, which surprisingly agree with the predictions of Christ; yet the destruction of the Jewish state rests not upon his single authority, but upon antient history and general consent, and is a fact which never was questioned.

What Josephus says concerning the outrageous wickedness and strange infatuation of many of the Jews, must be true; the facts related by him sufficiently show it: but the reason for which he dwelt so much on a subject so disagreeable to one who loved his nation, seems to have been this: he knew not how to account otherwise for God's giving up

[o] I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprise, though very bold, was perhaps neither rash nor rashly conducted.

[p] Contr. Apion. i. 9.

his own people to such calamities, and seeming to fight against them himself, and he was afraid of consequences which Pagans and Christians would draw from it against the Jewish religion. Cicero, because it served his purpose, had inferred from the calamities which in his days befell the Jews, that they were a nation not acceptable to the Deity. 'Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat: nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis: quam cara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod *servata*.' Pro Flacco, 28. Some would read 'serva.' Dr. Thirlby conjectured 'servit:' and I find it so cited by Hammond in his notes on Revel. xiii. 5.

In his Antiquities he takes too great liberties with sacred history, and accommodates it too much to the taste of the Gentiles, which yet probably he did to recommend his oppressed and unhappy nation to the favour of the Greeks and Romans. There are few of his suppressions, or alterations, or embellishments, for which a prudential reason might not be assigned. In his History he shows an instance of his art, in complimenting Titus without saying an untruth: he relates that Titus engaged with the Jews, who had made a sally and fought desperately, and that Titus himself slew twelve of their bravest men, who headed the rest. He says not how he slew them; but Suetonius tells us that Titus, at the siege of Jerusalem, shot twelve of the foremost of the enemies with so many arrows. The circumstances give great reason to suppose that both relate the same story.

Καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρεῖ· 'et ipse quidem sternit duodecim adversi agminis propugnatores.' B. J. v. vi. 6.

'Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione, duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus.' Sueton. Tit. 5.

The history of the Jewish war by Josephus seems to be a commentary upon the prophecies of Christ. Josephus, amongst other particulars, gives a distinct account of the

'fearful sights and great signs from heaven,' which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, and Tacitus has confirmed the narration of Josephus. If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.

Let us proceed to show that the predictions of Christ were extant before the destruction of Jerusalem, before A. D. 70, for this is the important point.

The books and epistles of the New Testament were written by disciples of Christ, or their companions.

We cannot suppose that any persons, of whatsoever abilities, could have forged them after the decease of the apostles: for,

These writings [d] contain various and numerous incidents of time, place, persons, names, and things; occasional discourses, differences of style, epistles in answer to epistles, and passages cited from those which they answer, directions and observations suited to the state of several churches, seeming contradictions, and real difficulties which might have easily been avoided, things mentioned which worldly considerations would have suppressed, and things omitted which invention and imagination might have supplied; a character of Christ, arising from his words and actions, of a most singular kind, left to its intrinsic merit, and aided by no art; and in the writings of St. Paul, sentiments warm, pathetic, and coming from the heart; particularities in each gospel suitable to the character, knowledge, situation, and circumstances of each evangelist, &c. &c.

The forgers of these things, if they were such, must have equalled Father Harduin's [e] atheistical monks of the thirteenth century, who, according to his fantastical ac-

[d] Disc. vi. on the Christ. Rel.

[e] Harduin's craziness consisted in rejecting what all the world received; the opposite folly to which is the receiving what all the world rejects.

count, in an age of ignorance and barbarity, surpassed in abilities all the antients and moderns, forged the Latin and Greek authors whom we call classical, and were not only great poets, orators, grammarians, linguists, and knaves, but great mathematicians, chronologers, astronomers, geographers, and critics, and capable of inserting, in their proper places, names and accounts of men, rivers, cities, and regions, eclipses of the sun and moon, Athenian archons, Attic months, Roman consuls, and olympiads; all which happy inventions have been since confirmed by astronomical calculations and tables, voyages, inscriptions, fasti capitolini, fragments, manuscripts, and a diligent comparing of authors with each other.

There is not one page in the New Testament, which affords not internal characters of being composed by men who lived at the time when the things happened which are there related. This is as evident, as it is that the noble English historian, who wrote an account of the troubles in the time of Charles the first, was himself concerned in those transactions. The discourses of Christ, as I have observed elsewhere, are always occasional, and full of allusions to particular incidents. The historical parts of the New Testament, and the travels of Christ and of his apostles, correspond with the accounts and descriptions which may be collected from other authors. In the judgment which Pilate passed upon Christ [f], the rules of the Roman law were observed. What is accidentally mentioned concerning the behaviour of Felix and Gallio, and some others, agrees with the character which Roman writers have given of them. There are endless particularities of this kind which might be produced. A man of very ordinary abilities, who relates various things of which

[f] Mr. Huber remarque fort bien, qu'il paroit, par toutes les circonstances du jugement de Pilate, que toutes les regles du droit Romain y furent exactement observées; et que cela peut nous convaincre de la verité de cette histoire. Des gens du petit peuple parmi les Juifs, tels qu'étoient les evangélistes, ne pouvoient pas être si bien instruits de cela; et s'ils ne l'avoient apprise de témoins oculaires, ils n'auroient jamais pu la raconter, comme ils ont fait, sans dire quelque chose qui se trouveroit contraire à l'usage des gouverneurs, dans les provinces Romaines. Le Clerc, Bibl. anc. et mod. t. xiii. p. 100. See also Huber Dissert.

he has been an ear- and an eye-witness, is under no difficulty or pain: but a forger, if he had the abilities of an angel, whose imagination must supply him with materials, can never write in such a manner; and, if he has tolerable sense, will avoid entering into such a minute detail, in which he must perpetually expose his ignorance and his dishonesty.

Christ began to preach when he was about thirty years of age; and the Jews[s] from his countenance judged him to be more advanced in life. He chose apostles, some of whom were married, one was employed in a public office, and most were probably as old as himself, if not older. If they had not been cut off by martyrdom, yet few of them, in the course of nature, would have survived the destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 70, which was about seventy-four years after the birth of Christ. Ecclesiastical history assures us, that St. Peter and St. Paul died before that time; and Christ had told Peter that he should be put to death in his old age.

History also informs us, that St. John lived long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and Christ had given an intimation that he should see that event; for he said once to his disciples, 'There be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:' and afterwards, when Peter was desirous to know what should befall John, Christ replied, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

St. John had seen the three gospels, for he wrote his own as a supplement to them; which appears plainly in the Harmony of the Evangelists. He omitted these predictions of Christ, though he was present at that discourse; of which omission the most probable reason is, that the other three had mentioned them.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate, that when the Jews came to seize Christ, a disciple drew his sword, and wounded one of them. John alone names him, and says that it was Simon Peter. The cause of their silence is obvious: Peter was living when they wrote, and they suppressed his name for several reasons; but when John wrote Peter was dead.

The three first evangelists make no mention of the resur-

[s] John viii. 57.

rection of Lazarus, perhaps lest the Jews, who had consulted to put him to death, should assassinate him. When St. John wrote, it is probable that he was dead; and therefore he gave a particular account of that resurrection.

There is reason to think that St. John also might compose a part at least of his gospel a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, since he speaks[h] of the porches of Bethesda as standing, v. 2, though this amounts not to a full and conclusive proof, and may be a small inaccuracy of style; or, it may be, those porches remained undemolished.

St. Luke ends his history of the apostles with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome for two years, A. D. 65. He mentions nothing further, and therefore probably wrote the Acts before the death of that apostle; and he refers us to his own gospel, as to a book which he had published before.

Ecclesiastical history[i] informs us, that Mark's gospel had the approbation of Peter, and that Mark was instructed by him; which opinion seems somewhat favoured by the narration of Peter's fall and repentance. Matthew and Luke say that he 'wept bitterly;' Mark says only, 'he wept,' but represents his crime in stronger terms than Luke. Matthew relates at large the commendation and the commission which Christ gave to Peter: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' xvi. 17. Mark omits it, viii. 29.

St. Peter, who died before A. D. 70, mentioned the approaching ruin of Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles[k],

[h] Ἔστι δὲ—κολυμβήθρα. Ἦν δὲ, which is in some few copies, is probably the emendation of a critic.

[i] Euseb. ii. 15.

[k] 'And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.' Acts ii. 9.

and in his own Epistles[l], as the best commentators agree; and so does St. James[m], and St. Paul[n], and the author[o] of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Papias conversed with the disciples of the apostles about the beginning of the second century. He speaks[p] of the gospels of Matthew and Mark as extant, and written by them.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150, mentions the Gospels as universally received and read in the congregations in his time. He must have conversed with Christians who were old men, and from them have learned that the Gospels were extant when they were young. Οἱ Ἀποστολοι (says he) ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια, ὅτως παρέδωκαν.—And again, Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀναγινώσκεται. Apol. 1. And his citations from the four Gospels, from the Epistles of St. Paul, and from the Revelation, show to a demonstration that he had them as we now have them, in the main.

In the interval between A. D. 70 and Justin, are the authors called apostolical, as Clemens, Hermas, Barnabas, Ignatius. These authors make use of some of the Gospels and Epistles, and allude to them; which makes them highly valuable, and serviceable to the Christian cause. We cannot suppose that they had the inclination: we may positively affirm that they had not the capacity to forge them. Their own writings prove it.

[l] 'But the end of all things is at hand.—The time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begin with us, what will be the end of them that obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?' 1 Pet. iv. 7.

[m] 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you.—Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of our Lord.—For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.—The Judge standeth before the door.' James v. 1.

[n] 'The Lord is at hand.' Phil. iv. 5. 'To fill up their sins always; for wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.' 1 Thes. xi. 16. 'The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night,' &c. 1 Thes. v. 2. The same event is also perhaps alluded to, 2 Thes. i. 6, &c. and 2 Thes. ii. 2, &c.

[o] 'Ye have need of patience that—ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come,' &c. Heb. x. 36.

[p] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iii. 39, *sub finem*.

Barnabas, in his Epistle, makes use of Matthew, Luke, John, and the Epistle to the Romans.

Clemens, in his first Epistle, makes mention of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and takes passages from Matthew, Mark, Luke, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Cor. Philip. 1 Thes. Ephes. 1 and 2 of Peter, 1 Tim. 1 and 3 of John, Revel. and particularly from the Epistle to the Hebrews. He also speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

In his second Epistle, if it be his, there are passages from Matthew, Luke, 1 Cor. and Hebr.

Hermas says, i. 2. 'Juravit Dominus per Filium suum: Qui denegaverit filium et se—et ipsi denegaturi sunt illum'—from Matt. x. 33.

I. 6. 'Cum ergo venerit tribulatio, propter divitias suas et negationes, abnegant Dominum'—from Matt. xiii. 21.

I. 9. 'Videte ergo vos qui gloriamini in divitiis, ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, et gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum'—from James v. 4.

Ib. 'Qui amatis primos consessus;' from Matt. xxiii. 6. 'Melius erat illis non nasci'—from Matt. xxvi. 24.

II. Mand. v. 'Spiritus sanctus, qui in te est, angustiabitur'—from Ephes. iv. 30.

'Si resistis Diabolo, fugiet a te'—from James iv. 7.

II. Mand. vi. Φοβήθητι τὸν Κύριον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι—from James iv. 12.

Such references should have been marked in the editions of the Apostolical Fathers.

In the Apostolical Constitutions also, and in the Recognitions and the Homilies of Pseudo-Clemens there are many passages taken from the New Testament; but as these books are not so antient as they pretend to be, I pass them by for the present, and shall pay my respects to them in another place.

The numerous and large citations from the LXX, and the New Testament, in the Constitutions, are however so far useful, that they help to show how those places stood in the copies of the fourth century, and perhaps somewhat earlier.

Ignatius, who, in his old age, suffered under Trajan, about A. D. 107, and who was contemporary with the apostles, in his genuine Epistles alludes to the Gospels of

Matthew, of Luke, and of John, Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, those to the Colossians, Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians, the first Epistle of Peter, &c.

Besides the places which are referred to in the margin of the Patres Apostolici, I have observed several upon a cursory perusal, to which I am sensible more might be added.

Ignatius ad Ephes. μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ—from Ephes. v. 1.

Ib. ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ—perhaps from Acts xx. 28.

Ib. τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος Θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν—from Ephes. v. 2.

Ib. ii. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν—from Philem. 20.

Ib. iv. μέλη ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ—from Eph. v. 30.

Ib. v. εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει—perhaps from James v. 16, or Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

Ib. ix. —λίθοι ναοῦ Πατρὸς—εἰς οἰκοδομὴν—from Ephes. ii. 20.

Ib. xiii. τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη—from 1 Tim. i. 5.

Ib. xiv. ἄμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι· καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ—from Matt. v. 19. vii. 21.

Ib. xv. οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον—perhaps from Heb. iv. 12, 13. or Revel. ii. 23. or some other places.

Ib. xvii. τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου—from John xiv. 30. and Ephes. ii. 2.

Ib. μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς—from Rom. vii. 23.

Ib. xix. μυστήρια—ὡς ἂν ἐφανερώθη—from 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Ib. xx. ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες—from 1 Cor. x. 17.

Ib. xxi. ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν—from 1 Cor. xv. 9. or Matt. xx. 26, 27.

Ib. xii. Ignatius takes notice of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, and of his martyrdom: and as he was writing to the same church, he often alludes, as you see, to the apostle's letter.

Ad Magnes. i. ἀγάπης, ἧς οὐδὲν προκέκριται—from 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

Ib. iii.—νεωτερικὴν τάξιν—perhaps from 1 Tim. iv. 12.

Ib. v. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον—from Acts i. 25.

Ib. ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα—perhaps from Rev. xiii. 17.

Ib. vii.—εἷς νοῦς, μία ἐλπὶς—from Ephes. iv. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Ib. viii.----εἰ κατὰ νόμον ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι---from Galat. v. 4.

Ib. x. ὑπέρθεσθε τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν---from 1 Cor. v. 7.

Ib. xiii. κατευοδωθῆτε. εὐοδοῦσθαι, a verb used in the New Testament.

Ad Trall. vii. μὴ φυσιουμένοις---a word often used by St. Paul.

Ib. viii. μηδεὶς [τι] κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐχέτω---from Matt. v. 23.

Ib. x.—ὥσπερ τινὲς—λέγουσι—ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι; τί εὔχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; &c.---from 1 Cor. xv. 15. 32.

Ib. xi. οὐκ εἰσὶν φυτεία Πατρός---from Matt. xv. 13.

Ib. xii. ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ---from 1 Cor. ix. 27.

Ad Roman. ii.—τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ---from 2 Tim. iv. 6.

Ib. iii. τὰ γὰρ φαινόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια---from 2 Cor. iv. 18.

Ib. vi. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται, &c.---from Matt. xvi. 26. But perhaps this is an interpolation. It is not in the old version.

Ib. vii. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται---ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ---from Galat. vi. 14. John iv. 14.

Ib. ix. ἔκτρωμα---from 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Ad Philadelph. vi.---ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα---from 2 Cor. xii. 16.

Ib. ix. αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα---from John x. 7.

Ib. x. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις---from 1 Cor. xi. 20.

Ad Smyrn. iii. συνέφαγεν καὶ συνέπιεν---from Acts x. 41.

Ib. iv.---μὴ παραδέχεσθαι---from John Epist. ii. 10.

Ib. x. τὰ δεσμά μου---οὐκ ἐπαισχύνθητε· read ἐπησχύνθητε ---from 2 Tim. i. 16.

Ib. οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται Χριστός---from Mark viii. 38. or Luke ix. 26.

The epistle to Polycarp, which is the last, is also inferior to the rest: there is some reason to suspect that it is not genuine.

Ad Philadelph. v.---προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. 'Confugiens ad evangelium tanquam ad carnem Jesu, et ad apostolos velut ad Ecclesiæ Presbyterium,' &c.

'Quæ verba videntur de Evangeliis et Apostolicis scriptis intelligenda; ita ut hoc velit Ignatius, cognoscendæ

divinæ voluntatis causâ, se confugere ad Evangelia, quibus crederet non secus ac si Christus ipse 'in carne,' hoc est, in eo statu quo fuit in terris, conspicuus et etiamnum apud homines vivens, eos sermones, qui in Evangeliis leguntur, ore suo proferret; tum etiam ad scripta apostolorum, quos habebat quasi totius Christianæ 'Ecclesiæ Presbyterium,' sub Christo omnium episcopo, quod cœtus Christianos omnes, quid credendum sit, doceret. Unde quanti fierent libri sacri Novi Testamenti, hisce temporibus, satis liquet.' Addit: Sed et prophetas amamus, quia ipsi nunciarunt, quæ pertinent ad Evangelium, id sperarunt, atque expectarunt. 'Quæ respiciunt Vetus Testamentum, prout scriptum exstat, nam aliunde prophetæ Ignatio innotescere non potuerant. Nec leviter prætermittendum, ab eo, primo quidem loco Novi Testamenti scripta, per quæ Christiani sumus, memorari, quasi perfugium suum; secundo vero Veteris libros, quia ex iis Novum confirmari potest.' Clericus, Hist. Eccl. p. 567.

In the same epistle, viii. Ignatius introduces a Jew, saying, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω. 'Nisi invenero in antiquis (vaticiniis) evangelio non credo.' Where see Le Clerc.

Ad Smyrn. v. οἷς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι, οὐδ' ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μεχρὶ νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. 'Quibus nec prophetiæ persuasere, nec Mosis lex, sed nec evangelium.' He speaks of heretics, who denied that Christ had a body, and that he really suffered. How were such people to be converted or confuted? By the testimony of the apostles, recorded in the New Testament; of men, who, as Ignatius says, did eat and drink with the Lord, both before and after his resurrection: consequently Εὐαγγέλιον in this place means the gospels, the books of the New Testament.

Ib. vii. προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται. 'Attendere autem prophetis, præcipue autem Evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa, et resurrectio perfecta est.'

Thus the shorter epistles of Ignatius allude to the writings of the apostles; but in the larger epistles, which are generally supposed to be interpolated, the passages of the Old and New Testament are more numerous, and cited more ac-

curately and directly, and sometimes impertinently, as in the Constitutions, and introduced with, Thus saith our Lord, Thus says Paul, and Peter, and Luke, and, Thus say the Scriptures. The apostolical fathers rather allude than cite; and therefore the hand of the forger discovers itself in these larger epistles.

Ignatius wrote his letters when he was condemned, and chained, and guarded, and conducted by soldiers, who were mere brutes, and used him ill: οἱ δὲ εὐεργετεῦμενοι χείρους γίνονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι. 'Qui et beneficio affecti, pejores fiunt: at ego eorum injuriis magis erudior,' or, 'Christi discipulus fio.' Ad Rom. v. We may justly suppose, and the word εὐεργητεύμενοι implies it, that the Christians who attended this most venerable bishop and martyr, and resorted to him on his journey to Rome, gave money to his guards, that they might be permitted to converse with him, and to minister to him, and that he might have leave to write and send his letters: and this small indulgence was granted by those ruffians with an ill grace, and in an insolent manner. Therefore it is more probable that the *shorter* epistles should be genuine than the *larger*, with their pomp and parade of passages from the Old and New Testament, which

——secessum scribentis et otia quærunt.

In the interpolated epistles of Ignatius, Ad Ephes. v. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος περὶ τῶν ἱερεῶν· ὁ ὑμῶν ἁπτόμενος, ἐμοῦ ἅπτεται. 'The Lord says to the priests, He that heareth you, heareth me,' &c. From Luke x. 16. A very suspicious phrase: why does this writer call the disciples priests?

Ib. xii. ἐγὼ ἐλάχιστος Ἰγνάτιος—ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου ἐλάχιστος. 'Ego minimus Ignatius—minimus a sanguine Abelis justi usque ad Ignatii sanguinem.'

In this application of scripture there is a vanity, under a feigned modesty, which ill suits with this humble and pious martyr, who as yet had not shed his blood.

Ad Magnes. iii. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς, δωδεκαετὴς, γέγονε κάτοχος τῷ Θείῳ πνεύματι. 'Daniel enim ille sapiens, quum duodecim esset annorum, spiritu divino affla-

tus est.' A childish romance; and what follows is no better.

Ad Philad. iv. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχείτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. 'Principes obediant Cæsari, milites principibus.'

This smells of interpolation: Ignatius addresses himself, not to Pagans, but to Christians; and it may be questioned whether in his time there were Christian officers and soldiers in the Roman army. See Moyle's Letters concerning the Thundering Legion, whose arguments in behalf of the negative are very strong.

Ad Smyrn. v. speaking of heretics, he says, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι· μηδὲ γένοιτό με αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις ἂν μετανοήσωσιν. 'Nomina vero eorum, cum sint infidelia, non visum est mihi [nunc] scribere: et vero absit a me ut eorum mentionem faciam, donec pœnitentiâ ducantur.'

And accordingly the genuine Ignatius mentions not, I think, the name of any heretic. But how does this agree with the catalogue of heretics in the interpolated epistle 'ad Trallianos,' where he names Simon, Menander, Basilides, the Nicolaïtæ, Theodotus, Cleobulus? The interpolator seems to have been aware of it, and therefore he has slyly inserted a νῦν· νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξε, 'at this time I will not name them.' In the shorter epistle we have οὐκ ἔδοξε without the νῦν. Observe that the 'nunc' is not in the Latin translation joined to the interpolated epistles; but it is omitted or dropped by some accident, for it is in the antient Latin version of the interpolated epistles, 'non est mihi nunc visum scribere.'

Ib. ix. Τίμα, φησὶν, υἱὲ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι· τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριον. ἐπίσκοπον δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φορέντα· κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν, Χριστοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον, τιμᾶν χρὴ καὶ βασιλέα. 'My son, says Solomon, honour God and the king: but I say unto you, Honour God, as the author and the lord of all; and the bishop, as the high priest, who bears the image of God, of God, as he is a ruler; and of Christ, as he is a priest. And after him, honour the king also.'

The author of this commandment, in all probability, was

a bishop, but not such a bishop as Ignatius. 'The scripture says---But I say---I who am wiser and greater than Solomon.' A very modest speech truly, and much in character, and becoming the meek Ignatius!

Here the bishop is equalled, or rather is preferred to Jesus Christ: for Christ is not supposed to be ἄρχων, a ruler, though he be 'King of kings and Lord of lords.'

After this homage is paid to the bishop, leave is given to the Christians to honour Cæsar. How condescending and gracious, and how well contrived to make the Roman emperors very fond of their Christian subjects! But this is altogether in the style of the Apostolical Constitutions.

Ib. He says to those who had showed him kindness, ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μαρτύρων λήψεται μίσθον. 'Qui honorat vinctum Jesu Christi, martyrum accipiet mercedem.'

Ignatius would not have spoken thus of himself.

There are in these epistles a multitude of places which agree with the Constitutions; the one certainly transcribes the other, and both are of the same stamp, 'ejusdem farinæ [q].'

Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, supposed to be written about A. D. 107, has passages and expressions from Matthew, Luke, the Acts, St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Ep. of John, and 1 of Peter, and makes particular mention of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Indeed his whole epistle consists of phrases and sentiments taken from the New Testament. To the references in the margin might be added,

iii. ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ὑμῶν---from Galat. iv. 26.

vi. Πάντα ἡμῶν σκοπεῖται, (or μωμοσκοπεῖται) καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε λογισμῶν, οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας. This is manifestly taken from Heb. iv. 12, 13.

The heretics also, who were contemporaries with the

[q] The reader is desired to observe, that these *larger* epistles have been examined, and condemned, as *interpolated*, by Usher, Pearson, Hammond, Cotelerius, Is. Vossius, Le Clerc, and many others, to whose objections and arguments I have endeavoured here to add a few more; and shall add something further, when I come to speak of Ignatius.

apostles and apostolical fathers, bear their testimony to the existence of the New Testament; and most of them had their forged or interpolated gospels and epistles, as knowing that without something of this kind they could not hope to get and retain any followers.

Simon the magician, and his disciples, are said to have composed books for the propagation of their stupid doctrines; and to have ascribed those books to Christ and to the apostles, that they might impose them upon silly people. If so, this was done in opposition to the books of the New Testament, and in imitation of them.

The Christians afterwards were even with this reprobate; for they related many an idle story about *him*, and also made him a more considerable impostor than probably he ever was, though he seduced several poor wretches.

The Gnostics admitted some and rejected other parts of the New Testament.

The Cerinthians received part of St. Matthew's Gospel, and rejected every thing else; particularly the Epistles of St. Paul, whom they had in great abomination.

The Ebionites and Nazarenes had a gospel according to the Hebrews, or a Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew corrupted and interpolated: they had also other forged books, bearing the names of apostles.

The Basilidians admitted the New Testament, but with such alterations as they judged proper; and so did the Valentinians.

The Carpocratians evidently made use of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

See Tillemont Hist. Eccl. ii. p. 41. 51. 59. 109. 220. 225. 261. quarto edit. to which I shall always refer.

These old heretics went about in quest of fools, whom they had the art to turn into madmen:

——hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit—

an art, which is not to be reckoned amongst the 'deperdita.'

Before the end of the first century, the world was pestered with the disciples of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, and Basilides: concerning whom see Le Clerc, Hist. Eccl.

The Basilidians made three hundred and sixty-five heavens; and were better castle-builders than those who give

us schemes of the 'seven heavens,' which is a poor inconsiderable number. Basilides required of his followers five years silence, 'which was a proper method (as Le Clerc observes) to make an experiment of their folly; and indeed he might be sure that the scholar was mad in good earnest, who with a profound submission and silence had paid so long an attendance on a knave that taught and did a thousand absurdities.'

Basilides, in all probability, only required this silence from his disciples when they were in his company; and was so great a talker, that he suffered nobody else to put in a word. His lectures upon the three hundred and sixty-five heavens could not take up less time than a year; and he would never have ended them if he had been interrupted, and obliged to answer doubters and cavillers.

The predictions of Christ concerning the calamities of the Jews could not have been inserted as interpolations after the event:

Because they are incidentally placed up and down[r] in the

[r] For example:

Matt. v. 5. 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.' This was literally fulfilled, when the believing Jews returned to their own country, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

x. 23. 'Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come.'

xv. 13. 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.'

xvi. 28. 'There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till,' &c.

xxi. 19. 'presently the fig-tree withered away.'

xxi. 41. 'He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen,' &c.

xxi. 44. 'On whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.'

xxii. 7. 'he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city.'

xxiii. 36. 'all these things shall come upon this generation.'

Luke xi. 50. 'That the blood of the prophets—may be required of this generation.'

xiii. 5. 'except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'

xiii. 9. 'If it bear fruit, well; and if not, then after that, thou shalt cut it down.'

xvii. 24. 'As the lightning—so shall the Son of man be in his day.'

xix. 27. 'Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.'

xix. 42. 'If thou hadst known, even thou,' &c.

Gospels, by way of parable, or in answer to questions, or on account of some circumstance of time and place bringing on the discourse:

Because the books of the New Testament were received by Christians; and copied, and widely dispersed, and perhaps translated from their first appearance:

Because these predictions in the Gospels are alluded to, or the same thing is taught in other parts of the New Testament:

Because no Jews or Pagans ever reproached the Christians with inserting them: not Trypho, not Celsus[s], not Porphyry, not Julian. The objections of Trypho[t] are to be found in Justin Martyr, those of Celsus in Origen, those of Porphyry in Holstenius Vit. Porph. ch. xi. and Julian's in his own works and in Cyril:

Because there is in them a mixture of obscurity and needless difficulty; needless if they were forged. Christ foretold the destruction of the city and temple, and the calamities of the Jews, fully and clearly: but being asked when this should be, he gave an answer in a sublime and prophetic style, saying that the sun should be darkened, and the moon should not give her light, and the stars should fall from heaven, &c. which would not be easily understood, if learned and judicious commentators had not cleared it up; and this he might possibly do to perplex the

Luke xxiii. 28. 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,' &c.

John v. 21. 'The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.'

xxi. 22. 'If I will that he tarry till I come,' &c.

To these must be added the parallel places from the other gospels, and the prophecy of John the Baptist, Matt. iii. 10. 'And now also the axe is laid to the root of the tree; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire,' &c.

[s] Whom some people call a Jew: they might as well call him a Quaker, or a Muggletonian. The man was not even a proselyte of the gate, but a mere Epicurean philosopher, who, if proper pains had been taken with him, might possibly have become a Sadducee.

[t] Trypho had perused the Gospels, and says to Justin, ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα θαυμαστὰ ἔτως καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίστασθαι εἶναι, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς. 'Sed et vestra illa in eo, quod vocatis, Evangelio præcepta ita mirabilia et magna esse scio, ut suspicio sit neminem ea posse servare; mihi enim curæ fuit, ut ea legerem.' Dial. cum Tryph.

unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil. The believing Jews themselves, notwithstanding this prediction, stood in need of a second admonition, and were divinely warned to flee from Jerusalem, say Eusebius and Epiphanius [v]. See Euseb. iii. 5. and the notes. So loth are people to leave their own house and home, even when they see destruction at the door:

Because Christ not only foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, but the continuance of that desolation. 'Jerusalem (says he) shall be trodden down of the Gentiles till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled.' Take what interpretation you will, so it be not absurd, and add to it a matter of fact, namely, the state of the Jews ever since, and it must be owned that a considerable length of time is implied:

Because Christ declared that these evils should befal them for not knowing the time of their visitation, and for rejecting him; whence it followed, that, as long as their rebellion and disobedience continued, the sentence against them would not be reversed.

If it should be said that Christ, as a wise and sagacious man, might foresee the storm,

Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ [w],

this would be a disingenuous shift to evade a plain truth. Christ would not have acted suitably to his character and usual conduct, and to common prudence, if he had staked his reputation on conjectures; and in the reign of Tiberius there was no appearance of such an event, and much less of the various circumstances attending it, which he foretold. The Romans had no interest to destroy and depopulate a country which was subject to them, and whence they

[v] Οἱ γὰν ἀπόστολοι καὶ μαθηταὶ τῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότες, μακρὰν τῆς Ἰουδαίας γῆς γενόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθεσιν ἐπισπαρέντες, τὸν κατὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν ὄλεθρον διαδρᾶναι τότε ἐδυνήθησαν. 'Ipsi apostoli ac discipuli Salvatoris nostri, et omnes qui ex Judæis ad ipsum credentes accesserant, cum procul ab Judæa terra abessent, et reliquis essent immixti gentibus, omnem eorum, qui civitatem incolebant, perditionem atque interitum effugere per illud tempus facile potuerunt.' Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 287.

[w] 'The day will come when sacred Troy shall fall.'

reaped many advantages; and the Jews had not strength to hope for success in a war against them.

If it should be said that Christ took his prophecies from Daniel, his just interpretation of Daniel shows him to be the Messias mentioned by Daniel, since none besides himself at that time had even a tolerable claim to that character. Daniel foretold, that in seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, a most holy person should be anointed; that this Messias should be cut off; that a prince should come with an army, and cause the sacrifices to cease, and plant abominable idols in the holy place, and destroy the city and temple, and make the land utterly desolate, and put an end to the Jewish polity. ch. ix. But Christ is more explicit and circumstantial than Daniel, and in many respects his prediction was new and altogether his own.

Josephus says that the Zealots trampled under foot all laws divine and human; and made a jest of their own sacred books, and derided the writings of the prophets. ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τὰς τῶν προφητῶν θεσμὰς ὥσπερ ἀγυρτικὰς λογοποιΐας ἐχλεύαζεν—'divina autem quæque deridebantur, et prophetarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commenta subsannabant.'—ἦν γὰρ δή τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶσεσθαι, καὶ καταφλεγήσεσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολέμου, στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ, καὶ χεῖρες οἰκεῖαι περομιάνωσι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τέμενος· οἷς ΟΥΚ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνες ἑαυτὰς ἐπέδοσαν—'vetus enim virorum sermo quidem erat, tum urbem captum iri, et loca sancta conflagratura jure belli, ubi seditio invaserit, et indigenarum manus polluerint sacratum Deo locum. Quibus licet fidem NON detraherent Zelotæ, tamen ipsi se earum rerum ministros præbuerunt.' B. J iv. 6. This seems to have been a traditionary interpretation of Daniel, a λόγος, a report, and not a written prophecy. But here is a negative which seems to contradict what was said before. It should perhaps be οἷς ἀπιστήσαντες, or something to the same effect; and the meaning may be, that the impious Zealots caused those prophecies to be fulfilled in the destruction of themselves and their nation, which they had ridiculed and disbelieved.

Many of the first Christians, who were Jews dwelling in Judæa, sold their lands and possessions. The Gentiles did

it not when the gospel came to them; and none of St. Paul's Epistles contain any such precept, or intimate any such practice. The Jews acted thus, though not by the command, yet doubtless with the approbation, of the apostles; and the most probable reason for it was this: they knew that Christ had foretold the destruction of their country, which should come upon it before that generation were passed away; and therefore they thought it proper, whilst there was opportunity, to improve to the best use their estates, which they should not long enjoy, by relieving their poorer brethren, and by enabling the first teachers to pursue their travels from place to place. Therefore also, when the gospel was spread amongst the Gentiles, the apostles were careful to make collections in their churches for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem, since it was just that a provision should be made for those who had given up all for the common good, and at whose charges the gospel was at first preached amongst some of the Gentiles. See Jos. Mede Disc. on Prov. xxxvii. 7.

We read in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Jews suborned and set up false witnesses against Stephen, who said, 'We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this holy place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.' Now though these were calumniators, yet probably something had been said which gave occasion to the accusation; and St. Stephen had been heard to mention the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the inferiority of the ceremonial to the moral law. See Grotius.

This is one reason why the unbelieving Jews hated the disciples of Christ so implacably, because 'they did not prophesy good' concerning the nation, 'but evil.'

Μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας.

The author of the Recognitions of Clemens introduces St. Peter telling the Jews that the temple would be destroyed; and adds, well enough, that upon this all the priests were highly enraged. i. 64.

The destruction of the Jewish nation is not mentioned by Jesus Christ as a threatened calamity which might be averted by repentance, but as a decree which was fixed and unal-

terable. 'If thou hadst known, &c. but now they are hid from thine eyes.—Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away:' that is, sooner shall heaven and earth pass away than my predictions pass away unfulfilled. The best and the most probable method by which a Jew might secure himself from being involved in this national evil, was to embrace Christianity: for which, amongst other reasons, St. Paul says to the Jews; 'Beware therefore lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets: Behold, ye despisers! and wonder, and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it to you.' Acts xiii. 40.; which words of St. Paul, and of the prophets, as they are applied by him, seem plainly to intimate the approaching ruin of that people. 'Apud Lucam Paulus optime hæc verba aptat ad excidium simile eventurum per Romanos.' Grotius ad Habac. i. 5. 'Patet proprie de Chaldæis agi,' Habak. i. 5, 6. 'Paulus tamen hoc opus paradoxum considerans tanquam cohærens cum aliis gravissimis Dei judiciis, processu temporis vulgandis in eandem gentem,—id ad judicia et mala, quæ Judæos sui temporis manebant, transtulit.' Vitringa ad Jesai. x. 12. See him also on Isa. xxviii. 21. and Hammond on Acts xiii. 40.

These things amount to an evidence which cannot reasonably be resisted:

——ita res accendunt lumina rebus.

The antient Christians saw it plainly, and insisted upon it strongly[x], as upon a satisfactory proof of the truth of Christianity; and the proof is as evident now as it was then. It highly deserves the serious consideration of those who doubt or disbelieve. Whosoever is of a studious and inquisitive disposition, and not of a sanguine complexion, has

[x] Συγκρίνας δέ τις τὰς τῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῦ συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τῦ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποθαυμάσειεν θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τὴν πρόγνωσίν τε καὶ πρόρρησιν τῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας: 'Quod si quis Servatoris nostri verba cum iis comparet, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem Servatoris nostri, eamque vere divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur.' Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.

probably known what it is to doubt; and has perhaps been offended at certain writers, who are incapable of owning or of feeling a difficulty, and who convince none, except those that stand in no need of conviction, and to some of whom it might be said, 'Urbem proditis, dum castella defenditis:' but here is a prophecy, and here is a completion, to which if we can make no reasonable objection, we ought to admit the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to endeavour to know and to do his sacred will, accounting this to be the best foundation of our present hopes, and of our future happiness.

If the illustrious and most important prophecy which I have considered, and some others which shall be mentioned, have been evidently delivered, and evidently accomplished; and if the miracles of Christ and of his apostles may be proved, as I shall endeavour to show; it is a fair consequence, that Christianity is a true religion, and that it cannot be made false or ambiguous by any arguments drawn from the notions, or from the behaviour of believers after the times of the apostles.

Much may be said, and something shall be offered in behalf of the Fathers and Christians of the three first centuries, who suffered so greatly for so good a cause; and whose abilities, if they are overvalued by some, are as much depreciated by others. No Christian would willingly give them up in any point, where there is room to defend them: but the imperfections and mistakes from which they were not free, (and who is free?) and their credulity in some things, and in ages which were not critical,—and a kind of credulity, to which an honest man, as such, is more liable than a crafty impostor, can never invalidate the proofs internal and external of the truth of Christianity.

The confirming and settling these great points, upon which our faith is founded, without a view to any particular systems and controversies, as it is the most agreeable employment to an ingenuous mind, so is it usually the most disinterested of all occupations. Whosoever is resolved to employ his hours and his labour in this manner, should consider himself as one who lays out his fortunes in mending the highways: many are benefited, and few are obliged. If he escape obloquy it is very well:

—Triumpho, si licet me latere tecto abscedere.

I have only this to add concerning the present subject, that Christ having said of the city and temple, 'one stone shall not be left upon another,' learned men have taken pains to show that this was exactly and literally fulfilled, either under Vespasian, or under Adrian, or in the time of Julian.

If any one should be of opinion that they have not proved this point, I desire he would observe that the words are proverbial and figurative, and only denote utter ruin and desolation, and would have been truly accomplished, though every single stone had not been overturned; as a house or city is said καταστραφῆναι, when it is destroyed, though its foundations be not digged up.

Malachi, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, says, 'The day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.' iv. 1.

This was truly accomplished, though every unconverted Jew did not perish in that general calamity. Proverbial sayings are not mathematical axioms.

Eusebius, mentioning the prophecy of Micah, 'Zion shall be ploughed as a field,' iii. 12. says, Εἰ γῆν τι δύναται καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς τὴν πάλαι βοωμένην Σιὼν ζεύγεσι βοῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρωμένην ὀφθαλμοῖς παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ τὴν γε Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὡς αὐτό γέ φησι τὸ λόγιον, ὀπωροφυλακίᾳ δίκην ἀπολειφθέντος, ἐν παντελεῖ κατασᾶσαν ἐρημίᾳ. 'Quod si quidquam *nostra* quoque *historia* valet, nostris ipsorum temporibus, illam antiquitus celebratam Sion junctis bubus a Romanis viris arari, nostris oculis inspeximus, et ipsam Hierusalem, quemadmodum ipsum hoc ait oraculum, instar pomorum custodiæ desertæ, ad extremam redactam solitudinem.' Dem. Evang. v. 273.

Eusebius was bishop of Cæsarea, and lived near enough to have frequent opportunities of viewing the ruins of Jerusalem, and in them the completion of Christ's predictions.

The words ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία mean, 'the knowledge and the testimony of what we have seen ourselves;' and the Latin tongue has no single word which exactly answers to this sense of ἱστορία.

Herodotus begins his book thus, Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε· which James Gronovius translates, 'Herodoti Halicarnassensis curæ demonstratio hæc est.' But this interpretation stands in need of another. Kuster thus explains the place: 'Notandum est ἱστορίην non solum denotare historiam, sive rerum gestarum narrationem, vel descriptionem; sed etiam, et quidem proprie, cognitionem rerum quas vel oculis ipsi lustravimus, vel ex aliis scisci-tando didicimus; vel studium res varias, eo quo diximus, modo cognoscendi. Et quoniam primi et antiquissimi historici vix alias res memoriæ prodere poterant, quam quas vel ipsi vidissent, vel ex aliis sciscitati essent, hinc recte et proprio sensu dicebantur ἱστορικοί. Postea vero latius, ut fieri solet, extensâ vocis ejus significatione, etiam quicumque alii rerum gestarum scriptores eodem nomine simpliciter appellari cœperunt. Procemium Historiæ Herodoteæ Latine sic verterim: 'Rerum ab Herodoto Halicarnassensi curiose observatarum specimen hoc est.' Vel per longiorem periphrasin: 'Curiositatis, quam Herodotus adhibuit, in rebus, quas narrat, vel lustrandis, vel sciscitandis, specimen, vel argumentum, hoc est.'

Le Clerc thinks that ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις may be rendered: 'Quod in historiâ præstitit.' But, however, the observations of Kuster upon the word ἱστορίη are just and true. See Le Clerc, Bibl. A. & M. V. 385. Ἡροδότου ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε—'Herodotus res a se observatas et investigatas edidit, ut neque' &c.

I NOW proceed to make some remarks on prophecy in general; and then on the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our Saviour.

That God foreknows even all the future actions of men, is what the holy scriptures most evidently suppose and prove, and what the bulk of mankind in all ages have believed.

This opinion arose probably, not so much from arguments drawn from the divine perfections, as from experience, tradition, and revelation.

It appears in sacred history, that God almighty from the most antient times revealed himself to men by foretelling future events; which is prophecy.

The uses of prophecy, besides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the Messias, and the blessings which by him should be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifest.

1. It served to secure the belief of a God and of a Providence.

As God is invisible and spiritual, there was cause to fear that in the first and ruder ages of the world, when men were busier in cultivating the earth than in cultivating arts and sciences, and in seeking the necessaries of life than in the study of morality, they might forget their Creator and governor; and therefore God maintained amongst them the great article of faith in him, by manifestations of himself; by sending angels to declare his will; by miracles, and by prophecies.

These were barriers against atheism.

2. It was intended to give men the profoundest veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counsel, any design, or thought, from such a being?

3. It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which consists partly in entertaining just and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable service than rites and ceremonies.

4. It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condescended to hold this mutual intercourse with his creatures, and to permit them to consult him, as one friend asks advice of another.

5. It was intended to keep the people, to whom God revealed himself, from idolatry: a sin to which the Jews would be inclined, both from the disposition to it which they had acquired in Ægypt, and from the contagion of bad example.

The people of Israel were strictly forbidden to consult the diviners, and the gods of other nations, and to use any enchantments and wicked arts; and that they might have no temptation to it, God permitted them to apply to him and to his prophets, even upon small occasions; and he

raised up amongst them a succession of prophets, to wh they might have resort for advice and direction. These prophets were reverenced abroad as well as at home, and consulted by foreign princes; and in the times of the captivity they were honoured by great kings, and advanced to high stations.

Man has a strong desire to look forward, and to know things to come. This desire, if it be discreetly governed, is natural and innocent; and there are several things which it would be of great temporal benefit and advantage to foresee. For example:

Man would be glad to know how he may shun a future evil.

Thus, Noah was warned to build an ark, in which he and his family should be saved from the flood: thus Lot was commanded to flee from Sodom, with his wife and daughters: thus David was told to escape from a strong hold where he dwelt, and afterwards from Keilah: thus, in the pagan world, Socrates, as his disciples Plato and Xenophon affirm, had a dæmon, or good genius, who never exhorted him to any thing, but dissuaded him from such things as would prove hurtful; by which secret warning he is said often to have preserved himself and his friends, and to have given them advice, which if they followed not, they constantly found cause to repent.

See a Dissertation of Olearius in Stanley's Historia Philosophiæ, and Le Clerc Bibl. Chois. xxii. p. 426. xxiii. p. 226. and Silv. Philol. c. iii. Olearius and Le Clerc believed that Socrates had such a dæmon; and I confess myself so far a fanatic as to incline to the same opinion, but without blaming those who are of another mind. When Socrates, just before he expired, ordered his friend to offer up a cock to Æsculapius, it is possible that he was delirious through the poison which he had taken, as a learned and ingenious physician observed to me.

Scribonius Largus says, 'Cicutam ergo potam caligo, mentisque alienatio, et artuum gelatio insequitur: ultimoque præfocantur, qui eam sumserunt, nihilque sentiunt.' Compos. 179.

To this head belong sundry prophecies containing a double fate, if you will permit the expression, which should

be accomplished according as men would act. Thus Jeremiah told the kings and the people of Judah, that if they would repent, they should be prosperous; if not, they should be destroyed: and to Zedekiah he privately declared: 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts, If thou wilt assuredly go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burnt with fire, and thou shalt live, and thy house. But if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the Lord which I speak unto thee: so shall it be well with thee, and thy soul shall live.'

Thus Achilles in Homer is represented as having a twofold conditional event declared to him: if he returned home, he was to prolong his days, but to live and die in obscurity; if he continued in the army, he was to be cut off in the flower of his youth, but to obtain everlasting honour; upon which he preferred glory to length of life.

Μήτηρ γάρ τέ με φησὶ θεὰ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,
Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε·
Εἰ μέν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
Ὤλετο μέν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·
Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκοιμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
Ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
Ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.

Il. I. 410.

The same poet tells us that Polyïdus, a diviner, assured his son Euchenor, that, if he stayed at home, he should fall sick and die; and if he went to Troy, he should be slain in battle: upon which the youth chose the latter fate.

Ἦν δέ τις Εὐχήνωρ, Πολυΐδου μάντιος υἱὸς,
Ὅς ῥ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοὴν, ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε·
Πολλάκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολυΐδος,
Νέσσῳ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι οἵς ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιῶν νευσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

Il. N. 663.

Thus the Pagans had the same notion with that which is mentioned in scripture, of a double destiny depending upon human choice.

Again. Man would be glad to know that he shall obtain a future good.

Hope is one of the greatest comforts that poor mortals have in this world; but a certain foresight of prosperity produces a more solid joy, and a firmer support.

God made some favourable predictions to Noah.

He promised a multitude of blessings to Abraham, relating to him, to his family, and to his posterity.

When Hagar was driven from her home, she and her son, and cast out into the wide world, an angel comforted her, and assured her that her son should be the father of a great nation.

God repeated the same promises to Isaac which he had made to Abraham.

He revealed himself to Jacob, when he was forced to flee from his father's house, and gave him assurances of support and protection.

He foretold to Moses, that by him he would deliver the people of Israel; and to Joshua, that he should be victorious in all his wars; and to David, that he should be king of Israel, and that the kingdom should continue in his family.

Jeremiah comforted Baruch in his affliction with this prophecy, 'Thus saith the Lord, I will bring evil on all flesh, but thy life will I give thee for a prey in all places whither thou goest.' xlv. 5.

He himself, who was a man of sorrows, and lived in calamitous times, received this consolation from God, 'I am with thee, to save thee and to deliver thee.'

He also received an order from God to say to Ebedmelech the Æthiopian, 'I will bring evil upon this city, but I will deliver thee in that day, saith the Lord, and thou shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid: for I will surely deliver thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee, because thou hast put thy trust in me, saith the Lord.'

In the New Testament we find that St. Paul, on some occasions, had a promise of deliverance out of the hands of his enemies. Our Saviour prophesied evil, that is, temporal

evil, to all his disciples, and told them that they should be exercised with sufferings and afflictions; but to compensate this, he promised them, in the present world peace of mind, and joy in the holy Spirit, and the divine assistance, and in the world to come eternal happiness.

It must have been a great satisfaction to the illustrious persons whom we have mentioned, and to others recorded in sacred history, that they were secure of the divine favour and protection. This must have given them courage and constancy under all the difficulties of life, and have enabled them to look danger and distress in the face. The Greek poet, describing Ulysses as an example of prudence, patience, resolution, and presence of mind under a variety of trials, supposes that he had not only the assistance of Pallas, but a prediction from Tiresias, that he should at last return home, and subdue his domestic enemies, and reign happily over his happy subjects, and come to a good old age. Odyss. Λ. 90.

To receive predictions of future unavoidable evils would be a curse rather than a blessing; and in the scriptures when such predictions are delivered, it is by way of punishment. Thus God foretold to Eli all the evil which he would bring upon his family; and the prophets denounced, upon some occasions, the calamities which should befal some wicked persons, and the untimely death which they should not escape.

To know future blessings of which we shall partake, and to receive an admonition how we may avoid an impending evil, are favours which men would often be glad to receive; and these favours were granted to the people of God in antient times and ruder ages, for several reasons which we have enumerated; but when by his Son he had introduced a purer and sublimer religion, he no longer continued, under the evangelical dispensation, to inform men of such temporal events. It is enough for a Christian to know, that he may secure to himself everlasting happiness by his obedience. As the great things relating to the next state were more clearly revealed, the smaller things relating to this world, and to its frivolous concerns, were shut up in obscurity.

The knowledge of the things which will befal us, and our

parents, and children, and friends, how long we and they shall live, and when and how we shall die, are secrets which God has concealed from us, and which in wisdom and kindness he has concealed from us. Sometimes prosperous events come most agreeably when they are least expected; and it would be a sad thing to anticipate all our griefs, and to be miserable before-hand.

And yet such has been the disposition of men in almost all ages, that many have had an intemperate desire of this knowledge; which gave rise and encouragement to wicked arts and to vile impostures. History both antient and modern informs us of this, and affords us several examples of princes, statesmen, politicians, who have had little or no religion, who have been mere atheists both in principles and in practice: as Tiberius, the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and others, who yet were very credulous in this way, with all their free-thinking, and gave great heed to divination, and to predictions made by pretenders to those arts; so that irreligion and superstition are not at all inconsistent; and he who believes no God, may believe in evil spirits, or unknown powers, or fatal influences of the heavenly bodies. Pliny the elder, who had atheistical notions, yet says of earthquakes, that the mischief which they portend is as great as that which they cause, if not greater; and that the city of Rome was never shaken with one which did not forebode future evil. 'Nec vero simplex malum, aut in ipso tantum motu periculum est; sed par aut majus ostento. Nunquam urbs Roma tremuit, ut non futuri eventus alicujus id prænuncium esset.' L. II. lxxxvi. p. 113.

'Il n'y a rien de si commun, que de voir les incrédules entêtez de l'astrologie judiciaire, et persuadez que les magiciens font des choses qui sont au dessus de l'ordre de la nature. Par exemple, on accuse deux grands ministres d'état, dont les actions ne nous laissent pas croire que la foi en Dieu fût une de leurs plus grandes vertus, d'avoir crû tous deux les prédictions des astrologues; et l'un d'eux, de s'être persuadé qu'un homme qui vomissoit diverses liqueurs, le faisoit par le moyen de la magie. "Le cardinal de Richelieu," dit Vittorio Siri, Mem. Rec. t. viii. p. 669. "consultoit outre l'astrologie, toute sorte de divinations, jusqu'à des femelettes; dont la science consiste en des va-

peurs de mere, qui leur font prédire par hazard quelque évènement fortuit. Il étoit si crédule qu'il attribuoit à l'opération du démon l'art de jetter par la bouche toutes sortes de liqueurs, après avoir bû de l'eau, comme le faisoit un charlatan Italien. Mazarin n'étant pas encore cardinal, ayant éclatté de rire à un discours si simple, pensa perdre sa faveur par là; et le cardinal irrité de cet éclat de rire, par lequel il jugea que Mazarin se moquoit de lui, lui dit ironiquement, qu'il n'étoit pas Monsieur Mazarin qui avoit une profonde étude et une exacte connoissance de tout. Mazarin repliqua tout soumis, qu'en donnant cinquante pistoles, que le charlatan demandoit pour enseigner son secret, on verroit si l'opération du démon s'en mêloit. Mazarin regardoit toutes les divinations, comme des sottises, excepté l'astrologie, dont il étoit fort entêté, quoiqu'il feignît le contraire. Lorsque Madame Mancini sa sœur mourut, et ensuite la duchesse de Mercœur sa niece, comme il eut vû par-là accomplie la prédiction, qu'un astrologue en avoit faite à Rome par écrit longtems auparavant, il en devint extraordinairement triste et mélancholique; non par tendresse pour ses parens, mais parceque ce même astrologue avoit fixé le tems de sa mort à un terme qui s'approchoit. Il en perdit l'appetit, et demeura plusieurs nuits sans dormir."

'On sait aussi que l'empereur Julien, qui n'avoit pû ajouter foi aux prophésies de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, étoit excessivement addonné aux augures, et aux présages que l'on tiroit des entrailles des victimes, et les Payens mêmes l'en ont repris.' Voiez Ammien Marcellin. l. xxv. c. 5.

'Je pose en fait que ces sortes de choses sont aussi difficiles à croire, si on les considère en elles-mêmes, que les mystères et les miracles de la religion chrétienne. Mais les incrédules y ajoûtent foi, pendant qu'ils refusent de croire à l'évangile; parce que ces sortes d'opinions n'ont aucun rapport avec la conduite de la vie, et ne sont nullement incompatibles, comme la morale chrétienne, avec leurs mauvaises habitudes.' Le Clerc De l'Incrédulité. Part. I. ch. i. p. 32.

It is a question of importance, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as divination, or a fore-knowledge of things. The strongest argument against

it is contained in Isaiah (ch. xli.), where almighty God, foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can discover such things; and appeals to these predictions as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no god besides him. 'Produce your cause, saith the Lord, bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and show us what shall happen: let them show the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed and behold it together. Behold ye are of nothing,' &c. And again: 'I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I showed them, I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass: I have even from the beginning declared it to thee: before it came to pass I showed it thee; lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image hath commanded them,' &c. xlvii. And more to the same purpose.

Hence it has been concluded, that there never was such a thing as fore-knowledge in the Pagan world: a conclusion too large and absolute to be inferred from the premises.

'Hinc possunt egregie confutari, qui putant frequentissime apud Ethnicos futura a cacodæmonibus prænunciata; quod hic a nemine, nisi a se, fieri posse statuat Deus. Pleraque omnia illa oracula, quæ leguntur apud veteres Græcos, aut numquam sunt edita, aut ab hominibus pronunciata, ut viri docti satis ostenderunt, et præsertim vir eruditus Antonius Van Dale. Sæpius hic repetitur provocatio Dei, ne leviter res prætereat, sed altius in animum descendat, præsertim idololatrarum Judæorum.—Imo vero, dixissent Græci, multa habemus oracula—Sed propheta reposuisset meras fraudes fuisse hominum, qui aut ambiguis responsis consultores eludebant, vel conjecturâ de rebus futuris temere judicabant, quam postea arguebat eventus. Si certe credidisset cacodæmones ipsos fudisse oracula, aliter

plane locutus esset, cum sciret homines ab ejusmodi malis spiritibus non difficulter potuisse falli, nec plebeculam eorum responsa a responsis ipsius Dei satis posse secernere.—Non ita loquerentur qui fidem habent historiis Ethnicorum de ostentis et prodigiis, quæ potentiâ cacodæmonum vere contigisse volunt; ex eorum enim sententiâ magna et memorabilia fuissent malorum spirituum per totum terrarum orbem opera. Sed prophetæ longe malumus credere, quam ejusmodi hominibus.'—Clericus ad Isaiam. To whose remarks we might add, that the scriptures, though they seem in many places to allow that evil spirits may work miracles, yet no where suppose or intimate that they can predict the future actions of men, except perhaps in Acts xvi. 16. and there it is not necessary that such prophecy should be meant. In Deut. xiii. it is said: 'If there arise amongst you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,—saying, Let us go after other gods,—that prophet shall be put to death.' But this seems not so much intended to declare that such false prophets should be able to show signs and work miracles, as to secure the people against idolatry; and therefore God says, If a man endeavour to seduce you to idolatry, put him to death, even though he should give you signs and wonders. Besides, the sign, whether real or pretended, might be rather of the miraculous than of the prophetic kind; and it could not be the prediction of a remote event, because that would not serve an impostor's purpose. The same remark may be applied to the 'false prophets' in Matt. xxiv. μάγοι, and γόητες, who should show signs and wonders, but whose predictions and promises should be confuted by the event.

Prophecies, in one respect, seem to carry with them surer marks of proceeding from God than miracles: for spirits, good or evil, may by their own natural strength, and without God's immediate assistance, perform things surpassing human abilities (which to men are miracles), unless God restrain them: but it seems altogether beyond the power of a created, finite, limited being to look into futurity, and to foresee the actions and behaviour of free agents, who as yet are unborn; this is an act, which probably implies a power equal to creation and preservation, and to upholding the universal system, and therefore prophecy must be the gift of God; and an angel or an evil dæmon, if he foretel such

remote events, must be inspired himself, or must get his knowledge from divine prophecies; or else what he delivers must be by a conjectural skill, in which he may perhaps sometimes, in some general things, aim right, and be able to form a better guess and judgment than mortal men, having larger views and longer experience. If he should have skill to foretell inclement seasons, droughts, tempests, inundations, pestilences, earthquakes, famines, fertility of the earth, plentiful harvests, &c.; yet to know what good and evil shall befall the unborn grandchildren of Caius and Titius, how they shall behave themselves, and how they shall spend their days, lies in all probability far beyond the sagacity of any creature.

In the book of Tobit, the angel Raphael says to Tobias, 'Fear not, for she [Sārah] is appointed unto thee from the beginning, and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee: moreover I *suppose* that she shall bear thee children.' vi. 17. Here is an angel's conjecture, which was fulfilled, as the writer takes care to inform us, xiv. 12.

Whosoever he was who wrote the history of Tobit, his design seems to have been to draw the character of a pious and worthy man, who on account of his piety fell into great distress; and who, after having borne many calamities with resignation and constancy, was restored to prosperity, and led a long and happy life. He had a wife, pious and virtuous like himself, but once or twice a little too querulous; and a son, who was an amiable youth, and a dutiful child to his parents. Angels[a] good and evil are introduced, with a sufficient quantity of the marvellous[b]. The name itself of Tobit seems to be feigned; for *Tōb* in Hebrew means *bonus*. There are also other feigned names in this drama, concerning which see Grotius. Lastly, both the heroes of the story are very long-lived; the father lived one hundred

[a] The Jews believed seven principal angels. Zech. iv. 10. Revel. i. 4. v. 6. viii. 2. One may suppose, from the number, that they were thought to preside over the planets. Tobit xii. 15.

[b] 'Les Juifs ont debité un si grand nombre de fables, que leur histoire, depuis le tems des derniers des historiens sacrez, n'est guere plus raisonable que les plus fabuleuses histoires du Paganisme. Au moins il est certain qu'étant mieux instruits que les Payens, ils sont beaucoup plus blâmables d'avoir inventé tant de mensonges.' Le Clerc. Bibl. Chois. iii. 166.

and fifty-eight and the son one hundred and twenty-seven years. All this has the air of a pious fiction, and the author seems to have proposed to himself to imitate the book of Job.

Virgil makes the harpy say, Æn. iii. 251.

'Quæ Phœbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phœbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.'

Where Servius remarks, 'Notandum Apollinem, quæ dicit, ab Jove cognoscere.' Æschylus Ἱερ.

——ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθίει Λοξίᾳ θεσπίσματα.

——hæc namque pater
Jupiter immittit Apollini oracula.

And:

Πατρὸς προφήτης ἐστι Λοξίας Διός.

Apollo patris Jovis est propheta.

Apollo, says Suidas, is Jupiter's prophet, and delivers to men the oracles which he receives from him. ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὑποφήτης ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνει τὰς μαντείας, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκφέρει.

In the Hymn to Apollo, the god says concerning himself, 132.

Χρήσω τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.

Oraculoque edam hominibus Jovis verum consilium.

And in our learned Poet, the Almighty is introduced saying to the archangel Michael,

——reveal
To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten.

To prophecy is to be adjoined a knowledge of the secret intentions of men. It seems to be beyond the abilities of any created being to know the thoughts of a man, particularly of a man who is agitated by no passion, and gives no indications of his mind by any outward sign. This is ascribed

to God, as his peculiar perfection, in many places of scripture; and it is said, that he is 'a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts,' &c. This knowledge God often imparted to the prophets.

Cicero has treated the subject of 'Divination' in two books: in the first he alleges all that can be said for it, and in the second he argues against it. Whosoever will examine his reasons on both sides, may see, I think, that he has not overset all the proofs which he has offered for it. He observes, that all nations, civil and barbarous, always agreed in this, that there was such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of events, to be obtained by various indications; as by the stars, by portents and prodigies, by the entrails of victims, by omens, by lots, by forebodings, by consulting the dead, by oracles, by inspired persons, by dreams, &c.

If there be such a thing as divination, said the Pagans, there must be a Deity from whom it proceeds, because man by his own natural powers cannot discover things to come; and if there be a Deity, there is probably divination, since it is not a conduct unworthy of the Deity to take notice of mortal men and of their affairs, and on some occasions to advise and instruct them. Thus the Pagans argued; and accordingly, for the most part, they who believed a God and a Providence believed divination; they who were atheists denied it; and they who were sceptics decided nothing about it.

Divination was a matter of fact, and to be proved, like other facts, by evidence, testimony, and experience; and some philosophers rejecting all other kinds of divination as dubious and fallacious, admitted two sorts, that by inspired persons, and that by dreams. In favour of the latter we have the authorities of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Cicero de Divin. i. 25.

'Atque dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam. Multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt,' &c. Cicero de Senect. 22. which is taken from Xenophon.

When Socrates was in prison, Crito went to pay him an early visit, and told him, he was informed by persons come

from sea, that the ship from Delos would return to Athens that day; the consequence of which was, that Socrates would be put to death on the morrow. 'Be it so,' said Socrates, 'if it please the gods: yet I think the ship will not be here to-day, but to-morrow.'—'Why so, dear friend?'—'Because this night a woman, of a beautiful and majestic form, clothed in a white robe, appeared to me in a dream, and, calling me by my name, said,

Ἠματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο.

The third day shall land thee safe at fruitful Phthia.'

They are the words of Achilles in Homer, when he proposed to return home. Socrates took it for a prediction of his death, because he judged that to die was to go home to his own country. And his dream was accomplished. Plato's Crito.

See Le Clerc on Gen. xii. 7. concerning revelations by dreams. Josephus has recorded a remarkable dream of Glaphyra, Antiq. xvii. 12. and Bell. Jud. ii. 7. But Noris, in his Cenotaph. Pis. and Le Clerc Bibl. Chois. iv. 60. observe, that it cannot be true that Archelaus married the widow of Juba; whence it follows, that this dream of Glaphyra, supposed to be widow of Juba, and wife of Archelaus, is either entirely or partly false.

He who would see some modern accounts of dreams and prophecies, may consult Grotius, Epist. 405. part ii. or Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. t. i. p. 152. and La Mothe le Vayer, Problemes Sceptiques xxviii. and the Life of Usher by Parr, and the visions of a strange fellow called Rice Evans, and Bayle's Dict. *Majus*, not. [D.] *Maldonat*, not. [G.] where he says of prophetic dreams, 'De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les esprits forts qu'ils ne le témoignent.'

As the reader may not have the books to which I have referred, it may save him some trouble, and give him some satisfaction or amusement to peruse what follows:

'Quidam ad Landresium, in operibus, proximè oppidum cubans, somnio monitus ut cuniculum hostis caveret, surrexit. Vix egressus erat, prorumpit vis tecta, locumque disjicit. At Salmatium si videris, historiam tibi referet,

patre suo auctore. Ad eum venit quidam Græcæ linguæ plane ignarus. Is in somnio voces Græcas has audierat; ἄπιθι οὐκ ὀσφράινῃ τὴν σὴν ἀΐψυχίαν; experrectusque Gallicis literis sonum earum vocum perscripserat. Cum ejus nihil intelligeret, rogatus Senator Salmasius ei verba interpretatur, est enim filii doctissimi doctus pater. Migrat homo ex ædibus. Eæ nocte sequente corruunt. Hoc his adjice quæ Cicero, Tertullianus, aliique ex omnium gentium historiis de somniis collegere. καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν, interdum, contra quàm censent Peripatetici.' Grotius, p. 870.

Le Clerc, where he gives an account of this passage, tells us, that Salmasius the father was 'conseiller au parlement de Dijon.'

La Mothe le Vayer seems to relate the same story that Grotius had from Salmasius, but with some difference. 'Un conseiller du parlement de Dijon nommé Carré, ouït en dormant qu'on lui disoit ces mots Grecs, qu'il n'entendoit nullement, ἄπιθι, οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ τὴν σοῦ ἀτυχίαν. Ils luy furent interpretéz—*abi, non sentis infortunium tuum*;—et comme la maison qu'il habitoit menaçoit de ruine, il la quitta fort à propos, pour éviter sa cheute qui arriva aussi-tôt aprés.' La Mothe probably took his account from common rumour, when the story had undergone some alteration in passing from one to another. Ἀτυχίαν would be a more eligible word than ἀΐψυχίαν, if we were at liberty to choose; but we must take it as Salmasius gives it, and not alter the language of Monsieur Le Songe.

As to the oracles which were uttered in Pagan temples, if we consider how many motives both of private gain and of national politics might have contributed to support them, and what many of the Pagans have said against them, and what obscure and shuffling answers they commonly contained, and into what scorn and neglect they fell at last, we must needs have a contemptible opinion of them in general; we cannot fix upon any oracles on which we can depend, as upon prophecies which were pronounced and fulfilled; and if there were any such, which, on the other hand, we cannot absolutely deny and disprove, they are irretrievably lost and buried under the rubbish of the false, ambiguous, and trifling responses which history has preserved; and

those which have a plausible appearance, lie under the suspicion of having been composed after the event. Some of them were in such doggrel verse, that they cast a grievous reproach upon the god of poetry, from whom they were supposed to proceed, and betrayed the poor capacity of the laureate poet.

In the class of knaves and liars must be placed the generality of soothsayers, magicians, and they who made a craft and a livelihood of predicting, and drew up the art into a system.

Setting aside these sorts of divination as extremely suspicious, there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural by many of the learned Pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected.

If it be asked, whether these dreams and impulses were caused by the immediate inspiration of God, or by the mediation of good or of evil spirits, we must confess our own ignorance and incapacity to resolve the question.

There is a history in the Acts of the Apostles which seems to determine the point in favour of divination. 'A certain damsel,' says St. Luke, 'possessed with a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying: the same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the the way of salvation. And this she did many days; but Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.'

Thus the divine Providence so ordered it, that this occurrence should turn greatly to the honour and advancement of Christianity. But this prophetess might be in repute for discovering lost or stolen goods, or for revealing what happened in distant places, or for predicting changes of weather, or for many things of a like nature, and might not be able to foretell the future actions of men.

As to Isaias, we may infer, with Vitringa, from his words, that God was determined so to conduct the great revolutions which were brought about in the world, and so to order the things relating to the victories of Cyrus, and to

the fall of Babylon, that his predictions should be accomplished, and that the Chaldæans and other Pagan prophets should be filled with the spirit of error and of ignorance. 'I am the Lord—that frustrateth the tokens of liars, and maketh diviners mad.' And again he declares, that the idols of Babylon should be destroyed, and their false gods not able to defend themselves. So that the declarations in Isaiah may be supposed to relate to the predictions made by Isaiah and by other prophets, in which their superiority over the diviners should manifestly appear, to the confusion of their Pagan neighbours. This, I say, follows; but not that, where there was no competition between the God of Israel and the Pagan deities, no such thing as divination should ever be found in any age, and in any part of the Gentile world.

It may be said that, in all probability, God will not endue bad angels with the spirit of prophecy, or permit them to reveal things to come. It is probable indeed he will never do it, where there is a competition between true religion and idolatry, and when it would make men worse than they would else be. But it appears from the scriptures, that the prophetic *afflatus* has sometimes inspired bad men; and we cannot be certain that God may not bring about some of the designs of providence even by evil spirits, by unworthy creatures and immoral agents: much less can we be certain that good angels were never employed as ministring spirits among the Pagans.

Milton treats this subject in his Paradise Regained, i. 446, and makes Christ say to Satan:

> '——Whence hast thou then thy truth,
> But from him [God] or his angels president
> In every province, who themselves disdaining
> T' approach thy temples, give thee in command
> What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say
> To thy adorers?'

It may be said also that divination among the Pagans helped, indirectly at least, to support idolatry and paganism. Socrates, and Plato, and Xenophon, and other worthy men believed divination by dreams and impulses; and this opinion had a tendency to confirm them in their

religion, that is, in the belief of a supreme God, and of inferior gods and good dæmons. It may be so; but the divine Providence seems hitherto never to have intended that Judaism, or afterwards Christianity, should be the religion of all mankind, since neither of these religions was ever fairly proposed to all mankind. Divination, or the opinion of it, contributed to keep up Paganism in Pagan nations; it contributed also to keep out atheism; and there is a sort of Paganism which, such as it is, is far better than atheism, with Bayle's leave be it said, who was pleased to affirm the contrary, and who, whatsoever were his design, has highly obliged all atheists and infidels by many arguments and remarks scattered up and down in his writings. Bayle was not the inventor of this hypothesis, though he adorned and improved it. Lucretius and other *esprits forts* had maintained it:

> Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.

Lucretius i. 81.

> Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis
> Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque
> Endogredi sceleris: quod contra sæpius olim
> Relligio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

There may have been modes of idolatry which were worse than atheism, and which indeed, strictly speaking, were a kind of atheism, as Bayle and others have truly observed; there may have been atheists in the Pagan world who were better citizens and honester people than many of their superstitious countrymen; and some Epicureans, as to personal qualities, might be preferable to some Peripatetics and Stoics: atheism in idolatrous nations and in former ages was not altogether so great a depravity as it is now, since natural religion has received so much friendly aid from natural philosophy, and from the excellent Newtonian system, and has been so well illustrated and confirmed by many skilful writers; Deism likewise is not so bad in places where Christianity is clouded and defaced by superstition, as it is in countries where revealed religion is free from such gross errors and defects. There have been several idolaters, Jews, Mahometans, and Christians, several reverend inquisitors,

'compellers to come in,' propagators of the faith by sword, halter, and faggot, who have been viler persons than several atheists; and religion may be corrupted to such a degree, as to be worse than unbelief: but if a man will needs draw the comparison between atheism and idolatry, it is not fair to take the worst kind of superstition, and the most ignorant, flagitious and infamous Pagans who were infected with it, and oppose to them the better sort of atheists, antient and modern, who lived reputably, and tell us that Epicurus, and Cassius, and Atticus, and Pliny, and Spinoza were more to be esteemed than many believing Pagans, or perhaps Christians.

We must consider Paganism in the whole, as it has been from the time when it began to this day, in all ages, and in all places; and the question is, whether, if all these Pagans had been atheists, it had been better for civil society in general, or no. On this question, most of those who are not atheists, I presume, will choose the negative; and of the atheists, all will not take the affirmative, for there have been atheists who have thought that infidelity was only fit for polite gentlemen, and that religion was of use amongst the vulgar, and a good state-engine. The remark, therefore, of this author is rather lively than pertinent, that 'he is not a greater madman who pays adoration to no being, than he who should devoutly worship his dog, his hat, or his breeches.'

Homer has described to us a republic, if we may call it so, of a sort of atheists, or despisers of the gods. Polyphemus says to Ulysses[a], 'Stranger, thou art a fool, or thou comest from a far country, to talk to me of the gods: we are superior to them, and value them not.' The Cyclopes, says Homer, have no religion, no magistrates, no assemblies, no laws, no industry, no arts and sciences, no civility, no respect for one another; but each Cyclops, in his den, rules over his wife and children as he thinks fit, and eats all the stragglers that fall into his hands. An excellent image of atheistical polity! Odyss. I. 273.

Bayle had confirmed himself in an opinion, that the Pagans

[a] Νήπιος εἶς, ὦ ξεῖν', ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας,
Ὅς με θεοὺς κέλεαι ἢ δείδέμεν, ἢ ἀλέασθαι.

worshipped a rabble of coëqual, imperfect, vicious gods; not considering how much the doctrine of one supreme and of many inferior gods prevailed; and for this reason he is the more excusable when he prefers atheism to such idolatry.

As to the grace of God, says Bayle, the Pagans and the atheists are equally destitute of it; and none have it besides the regenerate, who cannot lose it, and who are predestinated to life eternal. Who taught him all this? Not the scriptures[b], from which he could not prove it; not the antient fathers, who were generally of a contrary opinion, and entertained favourable sentiments of the wiser Pagans; not human reason, which, according to him, was only a *jack-a-lanthorn* leading those who followed it into bogs and ditches; not the synod of Dort, and some modern supralapsarians, whom he despised in his heart. He only threw out this as an *argumentum ad hominem*; and he uses the same sort of argument when he tells us, with a serious face, that Epiphanius, Jerom, and other doctors of divinity, antient and modern, have declared *heresy* to be worse than *atheism!* As if there were any absurdity, that some doctor, as well as some philosopher, has not maintained! Jerom's learning and abilities deserve to be honoured, but his impetuous temper is no secret to those who have looked into his writings. When he was warmed with disputing, he would call

'Hunc Furiam, hunc aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.'

There have been Pagans who have believed in one God, great and good, and in inferior deities deriving their powers and perfections from the Father of gods and men, themselves good and beneficent, and guilty of none of those vices and follies which poetical and fabulous history ascribed to them; they have also perhaps believed that there were malevolent dæmons, who were sometimes permitted to do mischief, but who were subject to the power and control of the deity; and certainly such a religion (though accompanied with some degree of superstition), together with a belief of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and with a tolerable system of mo-

[b] See 'The imperfect Promulgation of the Gospel considered,' in a very good sermon, by Bishop Bradford.

rality, and with some conjectural hopes of a life after this, is far preferable to atheism, to the doctrine that a God, and a Providence, and another state, are

'Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio.'

I pretend not to deny that some atheists of old had notions of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and might act suitably to them: yet surely they had not so many motives to virtue as the Pagans of whom I am now speaking.

But, says Bayle, if you had examined these Pagans, and reasoned with them concerning the supreme God, you would have found that they entertained some notions, the consequences of which were absurd, and would have destroyed the fair idea. And is not that the case of some Jews and Christians? Men must not be charged with all the consequences which may, perhaps, regularly follow from their notions, whilst they neither draw them, nor perceive them, nor own them.

Which system is best, that of Socrates, or that of Epicurus? that of the Platonics, or Stoics, or that of Hobbes, of Spinoza[c], and perhaps of Bayle, who too often made a bad use of his great abilities; and who taught that a man could not believe that God was good and wise, and that Christianity was true, without sacrificing 'reason to faith,' or, in plain English, without renouncing common sense?

This ingenious and unaccountable author had frequent

[c] Spinoza has endeavoured to show that there can be no such thing as liberty, and that there is no God. But how? By a system of jargon, adorned at proper distances with Q. E. D. Great is the force of *initial letters!* Yet has this absurd and cloudy philosopher found admirers and disciples, who have followed him, as they say the tiger follows the rhinoceros, to eat his excrements. Spinoza held a *plenum*, which was necessary for his purpose. If there be a *vacuum*, Spinoza's god, or the material world, is a limited, imperfect substance, and depends on some cause. Absolute *perfection* neither requires nor admits a cause, or an antecedent reason; but of *limitation* and *imperfection* there must be some cause. Spinoza would have owned this consequence from the admission of a *vacuum*; for he says, that what is necessarily existing must be infinite. He should therefore have proved the existence of a *plenum*: 'Quod erat demonstrandum.' The doctrine of a *vacuum* is the spunge of all atheistical systems.

quarrels with reason, which at last ran so high, that he gave her a bill of divorce, and turned her out of doors, with 'Res tuas tibi habeto.' And yet, when he had discarded her, he would reason against her. That is,

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te:

an absurdity which sticks, like the shirt of Hercules, to all those, of all denominations, who argue against reason as against a false and fallacious guide. To rail at her, and call her names, though it be not so genteel, yet is rather less ridiculous, for she will never furnish arms against herself. But these persons are usually as fond of their notions as Job was of his integrity; they 'hold them fast, and will not let them go:' and who would dispute with those, who, upon their own principles, must neither give nor take a reason?

'Mr. Bayle a prétendu prouver qu'il valoit mieux être athée qu'idolâtre; c'est à dire en d'autres termes, qu'il est moins dangereux de n'avoir point de tout de religion, que d'en avoir une mauvaise.—

'Dire que la religion n'est pas un motif réprimant, parce qu'elle ne réprime pas toûjours, c'est dire que les loix civiles ne sont pas un motif réprimant non plus. C'est mal raisonner contre la religion de rassembler dans un grand ouvrage une longue énumération des maux qu'elle a produits, si l'on ne fait de même celle des biens qu'elle a faits. Si je voulois raconter tous les maux qu'ont produit dans le monde les loix civiles, la monarchie, le gouvernement républicain, je dirois des choses effroyables. Quand il seroit inutile que les sujets eussent une religion, il ne le seroit pas que les princes en eussent, et qu'ils blanchissent d'écume le seul frein, que ceux qui ne craignent pas les loix humaines puissent avoir.—

'La question n'est pas de sçavoir, s'il vaudroit mieux qu'un certain homme ou qu'un certain peuple n'eut point de religion, que d'abuser de celle qu'il a; mais de sçavoir quel est le moindre mal, que l'on abuse quelquefois de la religion, ou qu'il n'y en aît point du-tout parmi les hommes.

'Pour diminuer l'horreur de l'athéisme on charge trop l'idolatrie.—

'Il convient que (dans le gouvernement despotique) il y

ait quelque livre sacré qui serve de règle.—Le code religieux supplée au code civil, et fixe l'arbitraire.

'Le roi de Perse est le chef de la religion, mais l'Alcoran règle la religion: l'empereur de la Chine est le souverain pontife, mais il y a des livres qui sont entre les mains de tout le monde, auxquels il y doit lui-même se conformer. En vain un empereur voulut-il les abolir; ils triomphèrent de la tyrannie.' L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxiv. ch. 2. l. xii. ch. 29. l. xxv. ch. 8.

'Je ne suis pas du sentiment (de Mr. Bayle) que l'athéisme soit préferable à l'idolatrie Payenne, en tout sens. Pour repondre à la question, il faudroit, ce me semble, premièrement distinguer des societez, les opinions considerées d'une manière abstraite, et faire d'un côté la déscription de l'athéisme, et de l'autre celle de l'idolatrie. L'on trouveroit peut-être qu'il y a telle idolatrie, qui seroit préférable à l'athéisme, et telle autre qui seroit pire. Ainsi, je ne puis répondre ni oui, ni non, à la question géneralle de Mr. Bayle. En second lieu, quand il s'agiroit de considérer, non les opinions en général, mais les sociétez en elles mêmes, qui feroient profession de l'idolatrie Payenne, ou de l'athéisme; il faudroit encore faire de grandes distinctions, et diviser la question en plusieurs propositions, selon les différens cas que l'on poseroit, et auxquels on répondroit négativement, ou affirmativement, suivant leur diversité. Je n'ai ni le loisir ni la volonté de m'appliquer à cette sorte de recherche, et je n'en aurois même rien dit, si Mr. Bayle ne m'avoit fait l'honneur de me citer entre ceux qu'il croit être de son sentiment, dans l'Article lxxvii. de la Continuation des Pensées diverses sur les Cometes.' Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. v. 202.

'Si ce qu'on nous dit des opinions, des loix, et des mœurs des sujets des Yncas est vrai, il n'y a point eu d'empire idolâtre dans les autres parties du monde, sans en excepter ceux des nations les plus polies et les plus savantes, où il y ait eu de si bonnes loix, et où elles aient été si bien observées. La religion, qui consistoit principalement à adorer et à sacrifier au soleil—non des victimes humaines—mais des bêtes et d'autres choses, a été la moins gâtée, qu'il y ait eu parmi les idolatres. Outre le Soleil, ils disoient qu'il y avoit une autre divinité.—Ils parloient de ce Dieu,

comme d'un être invisible, dont la nature leur étoit inconnue, et qui avoit créé le soleil même et les étoiles. Ils croyoient aussi l'immortalité de l'ame, et avoient même une idée confuse de la résurrection, à ce que dit Garcilasso de la Vega.—Supposé que ce qu'il dit soit véritable, on peut dire qu'une société idolâtre comme celle-là étoit incomparablement meilleure que ne le seroit une société d'athées.—Ceux qui n'ont pas encore lû cette histoire seront charmez de l'excellente police des Peruviens, de la charité qu'ils avoient pour les pauvres, les veuves et les orphelins, et de l'innocence de leurs mœurs, à les considérer comme des peuples destituez des lumières de la révélation. Il y aura même bien des gens, qui seront plus édifiez des vertus morales des Américains, destituez des lumières du ciel, que des vertus théologiques des Espagnols, qui sont, comme ils le croyent, les meilleurs Chrétiens du monde.' Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. v. p. 380.

Bayle, after having showed us the worst side of Paganism, proceeds to insult Christianity, and to tell us, that a nation consisting of true Christians must soon perish, and could not maintain itself against its irreligious neighbours; which doctrine is also retailed in that flagitious and detestable book, called 'The Fable of the Bees.' And how does this appear? Is it because Christianity makes a man a poltroon? He does not pretend to say that: but because, according to the Gospel, self-defence is unlawful, stratagems in war are crimes, merchandising is wickedness, and riches and honours are prohibited. They who talk thus show that they understand not, or will not understand, either the strong and figurative style of the scriptures, or the rational methods of interpreting them, or the true nature of virtues and vices.

If this author proposed to himself to acquire the applause of free-thinkers, he had his reward: but when Phocion had made a speech which was applauded by the populace, he asked, 'Have I not said some foolish thing?'

To return to divination:—It appears from scripture that some good and great men, when they were taking leave of the world, and blessing their children or their nation, were enlightened with a prophetic spirit. Homer makes his heroes, as Patroclus and Hector, propliesy at the time of their death;

and Cicero introduces his brother thus arguing in behalf of divination: 'Epicurum ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Jubet igitur Plato, sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque afferat.—Quum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate, et a contagione corporis, tum meminit præteritorum, præsentia cernit, futura prævidet: jacet enim corpus—viget animus: quod multo magis faciet post mortem—itaque appropinquante morte multo est divinior.—Divinare autem morientes, etiam illo exemplo confirmat Posidonius—Idque facilius eveniet appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. Ex quo et illud est Calani, de quo ante dixi, et Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat.' De Divin. i. 30.

The Pagans had also an opinion, that the good wishes and the imprecations of parents were often fulfilled, and had in them a kind of divination. Read the story of Phœnix in Homer, Il. I. 445, &c. And Plato says, that every wise person revered and esteemed the prayers of his parents, knowing that they were very frequently accomplished. Πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων ἐυχὰς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιτελεῖς γενομένας. De Leg. xi. p. 931. Consult the place, and compare it with the case of Esau, in Gen. xxvii.

Eusebius has treated the subject of oracles in his 'Præparatio Evangelica,' l. iv. v. vi. He produces such arguments as tend to show that it was all human fraud; and, amongst other things, he informs us, that many Pagan priests and prophets, who (under Constantine, I suppose) had been taken up, and tried, and tortured, had confessed that the oracles were impostures, and had laid open the whole contrivance, and that their confessions stood upon record; and that these were not obscure wretches, but philosophers and magistrates, who had enriched themselves by persecuting and plundering the Christians. So Theodoret tells us, that in demolishing the temples at Alexandria, the Christians found hollow statues fixed to the walls, into which the priests used to enter, and thence deliver oracles. v. 22. Eusebius adds, that the Peripatetics, Cynics, and Epicureans were of opinion, that such predictions were all arti-

fice and knavery. He then produces the arguments of Diogenianus against divination. But Eusebius, as also all the antient Christians, was of opinion, that with these human frauds there might have been sometimes a mixture of dæmoniacal tricks. Pr. Ev. vii. 16. He then argues against the oracles from the concessions and the writings of Pagans. He shows from Porphyry, that, according to that philosopher's own principles, and according to the reasonings of other Pagans, the gods who delivered oracles must have been evil dæmons. He proves the same thing from human sacrifices; and produces Porphyry's testimony and opinion that the Pagans worshipped evil dæmons, the chief of whom were Serapis and Hecate. He proves the same from Plutarch; and he gives a collection made by Oenomaus, of wicked, false, trifling, ambiguous oracles.

The old oracles often begin with Ἀλλ' ὅταν, 'But when,' which is an odd setting out. Thus in Herodotus,

Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος—i. 55.
Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ—iii. 57.
Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ Θήλεια—vi. 77.
Ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος—viii. 77.

In the Oracula Vetera,

Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε—
Ἀλλὰ τέλει ξόανον—
Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν σκήπτροισι—
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ νύμφαι—
Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν Τιθοροὺς—
Ἀλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι—

In imitation of which style, we find in the Sibylline oracles, and in the beginning of a sentence,

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ——

And so in many places of that collection, which I shall not transcribe.

Hence Aristophanes,—in banter, I suppose, of the predictions in Herodotus,—makes a pompous and ridiculous oracle, and uses the same foolish introduction, to persuade a

sausage-monger to set up for a demagogue and a ruler. The oracle is in heroic verse, and runs thus: Equit. 197.

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μάρψῃ βυρσαίετος ἀγκυλοχείλης
Γαμφηλῇσι δράκοντα κοάλεμαν, αἱματοπώτην,
Νὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλμη·
Κοιλιοπώλῃσιν δὲ Θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάζει,
Αἴκεν μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλᾶντας μᾶλλον ἔλωνται.

'But when the tanner-eagle with a crooked beak shall seize the stupid blood-drinking dragon, then the Paphlagonian pickle shall perish, and the deity shall advance the sausage-mongers to the highest honours, if they will but leave off their trade, and sell no more puddings.'

Lucian also, 'De Morte Peregrini,' gives us two oracles made upon the death of that knave, who burnt himself publicly, the one by a seeming friend, the other by a foe.

The first was ascribed to the Sibyl, who was the Mother Shipton of the antients:

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν Πρωτεὺς Κυνικῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἁπάντων
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούπου τέμενος κατὰ πῦρ ἀνακαύσας
Ἐς φλόγα πηδήσας ἔλθῃ εἰς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Δὴ τότε πάντας ὁμῶς, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι,
Νυκτιπόλον τιμᾶν κέλομαι Ἥρωα μέγιστον,
Σύνθρονον Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἡρακλῆι ἄνακτι.

'But when Proteus, the chief of the Cynics, leaping into the flames, near the temple of Jupiter, shall ascend up to Olympus, then let all mortals with one consent adore the nocturnal hero, and rank him with Vulcan and Hercules.'

The second was fathered upon Bacis, the Nostradamus of his times:

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν Κυνικὸς πολυώνομος ἐς φλόγα πολλὴν
Πηδήσῃ δόξης ὑπ' ἐρεννύι θυμὸν ὀρινθείς,
Δὴ τότε τοὺς ἄλλους κυναλώπεκας, οἵ οἱ ἕπονται,
Μιμεῖσθαι χρὴ πότμον ἀποιχομένοιο λύκοιο.
Ὅς δέ κε δειλὸς ἐὼν, φεύγει μένος Ἡφαίστοιο,
Λάεσσιν βαλέειν τοῦτον τάχα πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
Ὡς μὴ ψυχρὸς ἐὼν, θερμηγορέειν ἐπιχείρῃ,
Χρυσῷ σαξάμενος πήρην, μάλα πολλὰ δανείζων,
Ἐν καλαῖς Πάτραισιν ἔχων τρὶς πέντε τάλαντα.

'But when the Cynic, who has more names than one, incited by the Furies, and by the mad love of vain-glory, shall jump into the flames, then let all the dog-foxes, his trusty disciples, follow the example of the departed wolf. And if any one of them shrink, and be afraid of the fire, let all the Greeks pelt him with stones, that he may no more show his courage only by prating, and put gold into his satchel, and lend it out to interest, and add to the fifteen talents which he has hoarded up at Patræ.'

It is probable that Lucian made both these oracles, to divert himself and his readers, not forgetting the essential Ἀλλ' ὅταν. But Lucian's raillery could not put a stop to the superstition of the world; for this Peregrinus, or Proteus, was deified, and had, at Parium, a statue erected, to which religious honours were paid, and which delivered oracles. See Athenagoras Legat.

The comedy of Aristophanes, cited above, abounds with ridicule upon the oracles, and shows the liberty which the wits in his days took to deride them, and to bring them into contempt.

If the writer 'De Dea Syria' be in earnest, and sincere in his narration, as he seems to be, there were few Pagan temples and oracles more remarkable than that of Hierapolis in Syria; and from his account it may be inferred, that the priests of that temple had carried the arts of imposture to great perfection, and surpassed their antient instructors the Ægyptians,—like the thief who stole a statue of Mercury, and told the god,

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

The Ægyptians, says this author, were the first who had knowledge of the gods, and built them temples, &c. and from them the Assyrians learned these things. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say the same. Lucian. de Dea Syr. § 2.

Ἔνι δὲ—καὶ θεοὶ δὲ πάρτα αὐτοῖσι ἐμφανέες. ἰδρώει γὰρ δὴ ὧν παρὰ σφίσι τὰ ξόανα, καὶ κινέεται καὶ χρησμηγορέει· καὶ βοὴ δὲ πολλάκις ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ νηῷ, κλεισθέντος τοῦ ἱροῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. 'Sunt autem—præsentes valde iis Dii. Sudant enim apud illos simulacra, et moventur, atque edunt oracula. Clamor etiam sæpe in æde multis exaudientibus ortus cum clausum esset templum.'

They had a statue of Apollo, differing from the Græcian images of that god in two things: he was represented with a beard, and he was clothed; and he delivered his oracles thus:

Μαντήια πολλὰ μὲν παρ' Ἕλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇδε Ἀσίῃ πολλά ἐστι. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὔτε ἱρέων ἄνευ οὔτε προφητέων φθέγγονται, ὅδε δὲ αὐτός τε κινέεται, καὶ τὴν μαντηίην ἐς τέλος αὐτουργέει. τρόπος δὲ αὐτῆς τοιόσδε. εὖτ' ἂν ἐθέλῃσι χρησμηγορέειν, ἐν τῇ ἕδρῃ πρῶτα κινέεται. οἱ δέ μιν ἱρέες αὐτίκα ἀείρουσι. ἢν δὲ μὴ ἀείρωσι, ὁ δὲ ἰδρώει, καὶ ἐς μέσον ἔτι κινέεται. εὖτ' ἂν δὲ ὑποδύντες φέρωσι, ἄγει σφέας, πάντῃ περιδινέων, καὶ ἐς ἄλλον ἐξ ἑτέρου μεταπηδέων. τέλος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντιάσας, ἐπερέεται μιν περὶ ἁπάντων πρηγμάτων· ὁ δὲ ἢν τι μὴ θέλῃ ποιέεσθαι, ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέει. ἢν δέ τι ἐπαινέῃ, ἄγει ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοὺς προσφέροντας, ὁκωσπερ ἡνιοχέων. οὕτω μὲν συναγείρουσι τὰ θέσφατα, καὶ οὔτε ἱρὸν πρῆγμα οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἴδιον τούτου ἄνευ ποιέουσι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἔτεος πέρι, καὶ τῶν ὡρέων αὐτοῦ πασέων, καὶ ὁκότε οὐκ ἔσονται. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σημηίου πέρι, κότε χρή μιν ἀποδημέειν, τὴν εἶπον ἀποδημίην. Ἐρέω δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐμεῦ παρεόντος ἔπρηξε. οἱ μέν μιν ἱρέες ἀείροντες ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν γῇ κάτω ἔλιπε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἠέρι μοῦνος ἐφορέετο. 'Oracula apud Græcos multa, multa apud Ægyptios. Verum etiam in Libya et in Asia multa sunt. Sed alia non sine sacerdotibus vel prophetis respondent: at hic movetur ipse, et divinationem ad finem usque solus perducit. Modus hic est. Cum vult reddere oraculum, in sede primum sua movetur. Sacerdotes vero ipsum continuo tollunt. Si vero non tollant, ille sudat, et versus medium adhuc movetur. Cum vero subeuntes onus ipsum ferunt, agit illos usque quaque in orbem, et in alium ex alio transilit. Tandem obsistens sacerdotum princeps interrogat illum de rebus omnibus. Isque si nolit fieri, retrocedit; si vero probet, antrorsum agit suos bajulos, tanquam habenis auriga. Ita colligunt oracula, et neque rem sacram ullam neque privatam sine hoc faciunt. Prædicit etiam de anno omnibusque illius tempestatibus, et quando non futuræ sint: item prædicit de Signo, quando eam, quam dicebam modo, profectionem suscipiat. Narrabo etiam aliud, quod me præsente egit. Sacerdotes sublatum ferebant. At ipse illos humi reliquit, sublimis ipse solus ferebatur.' Ib. § 36, 37.

This author says here, that he saw the image suspended

and moving along in the air; upon which La Croze and Guietus observe that he is a liar[d]. They did not consider that feats as surprising as this have been performed by machinery assisted with legerdemain; and that Christian monks, as well as Pagan priests, have been eminent in such arts. We are obliged to the writer for not omitting a remarkable circumstance, that the image was adorned with a fine robe: the cloak was not put on for nothing, and served, in all probability, to conceal some knavery.

The tricks of the Ægyptian priests were not to be compared to this: their little gods, when they were carried in procession, did not sweat like these statues, but only made the porters sweat:

> 'sic numina Memphis
> In vulgus proferre solet: penetralibus exit
> Effigies; brevis illa quidem: sed plurimus infra
> Liniger imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos,
> Testatus sudore Deum.'—Claudian iv. Cons. Hon. 569.

Observe that this statue did not speak, and that when the writer says λέγει ἔτεος πέρι, he only means that it *indicated* or *declared*. From his account we may collect, that when any question was put to it, if it retired and drew back, that was as much as to say, *No*: if it advanced, the meaning was, *Yes*.

We have accounts very like this from other authors, of other statues and oracles. Diodorus Sic. xvii. says of Jupiter Ammon: Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ξόανον—τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιάζουσαν παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεὼς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα. οὗτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεὸν, προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως ὅπου πότ' ἂν ἄγοι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ νεῦμα τὴν πορείαν. 'Simulacrum Dei—peculiari novoque plane vaticinandi genere oracula edit. In aurea enim navi a sacerdotibus octoginta circumfertur; qui humeris Deum gestantes eo tendunt, quo forte fortuna Dei nutus eos agit.' Compare with this Q. Curtius iv. 7. Macrobius, i. 23. says, 'Hujus [Heliopolitani] templi religio etiam divinatione præpollet, quæ ad Apollinis potestatem refertur, qui idem

[d] Cicero mentions the old story of the wooden 'lituus' of Romulus, which was not consumed in a fire, and treats it as a fable, De Divin. ii. 38. and yet it might possibly be true; for incombustible wood has been discovered.

atque sol est. Vehitur enim simulacrum Dei Heliopolitani ferculo,—et subeunt plerumque provinciæ proceres, raso capite, longi temporis castimonia puri; ferunturque divino spiritu, non suo arbitrio, sed quo Deus propellit vehentes: ut videmus apud Antium promoveri simulacra fortunarum ad danda responsa.' Strabo says from Callisthenes, that Ammon delivered his answers, *οὐ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλέον*· 'non verbis, sed ut plurimum nutu et signis.' See Van Dale De Orac. p. 210. who produces these passages of Diodorus, Macrobius, and Strabo, and adds some from other authors.

The writer De Dea Syria tells us, that the beasts which were kept in this sacred place lost their natural fierceness. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ ἄφετοι νέμονται βόες μεγάλοι, καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ ἀετοὶ, καὶ ἄρκτοι, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμᾷ σίνονται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἱροί τε εἰσι, καὶ χειροήθεες.* 'In aula soluti pascuntur boves magni, et equi, et aquilæ, et ursi, et leones, qui nequaquam nocent hominibus, sed sacri omnes sunt, et mansueti.' § 41.

The city and temple also, as he informs us, swarmed with 'Galli,' or 'castrated priests,' who perhaps performed the same operation upon these wild beasts which they had performed upon themselves; and this, together with due correction administered from time to time, and a good education, and seeing much company, and proper food, and a full belly, and three meals a day, would make these lions and bears as tame as lambs. The *μεγάλοι βόες* were probably oxen, who grow to a much larger size than bulls; and a bull is a surly animal, with whom it is hard to cultivate any friendship.

Van Dale observes from Theophrastus, that cedar, and those sorts of wood which contain an oily moisture, will have a dew upon them in damp weather; and that statues made of them will sweat; which passed for a prodigy with silly people. He mentions this, as illustrating what is said in the book De Dea Syria concerning sweating images: but I rather think that the priests there had some surer contrivance to bring about this miracle, and could make their images sweat when they thought it proper.

The book De Dea Syria is very entertaining, and composed elegantly, and in the Ionic dialect: the author seems to have been a Pagan who gave credit to prodigies, oracles,

and the power of the gods; which was not Lucian's case. If Lucian wrote it, to whom it is ascribed, one might suspect that, as he proposed to follow Herodotus in style and manner, so he affected to imitate him in gravely relating marvellous and strange things. But, if this were his design, it was of too refined a nature; and by the seriousness which runs through the whole composition, the jest has been hitherto lost. Lucian, Ver. Hist. ii. 31. banters Herodotus as a liar, though unjustly I think; for in this charming historian there are some marks of credulity, but none of dishonesty. Whosoever made the book, and with whatsoever intent, his narration seems to be historically true; and much of it is confirmed by other writers. We are informed by Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. iii. 501. that Jurieu, in his History of the Jewish Rites and Doctrines, has concluded that Lucian was not the author of this treatise, because it is written in the Ionic dialect. The argument proves nothing: for Lucian was an ingenious monkey, who could imitate what he would, and throw himself into all shapes; and he might affect this sweetly-flowing style for several reasons, or out of mere fancy: and Arrian, as Fabricius observes, wrote his Indica in this dialect, though he composed his other works in the Attic diction. I have not Jurieu's book to consult, and perhaps it is not worth the seeking. Jurieu made a figure in his time, and had more zeal than discretion. He wrote some tracts of devotion; and he was remarkable for two things: first, for misinterpreting the Apocalypse, and thence foretelling what never came to pass; secondly, for publishing idle stories against Grotius and other learned men, in a book called L'Esprit de Monsieur Arnauld. The book at first had a run, for censure is of a healthy complexion, and thrives better than panegyric; and, as it has been said of a hog[e], that his soul is given him instead of salt, to keep him from stinking, so what is called 'secret history' will preserve even a slovenly performance from decaying longer than one would imagine: but now this work would be little known, if Bayle and Le Clerc and others had not chastised it; in which perhaps they did it too much honour. Jurieu, by treating Grotius as an infidel, went to work like a bungler; for, 'est ars etiam maledi-

[e] Cicero De Nat. Deor. ii. 64.

cendi,' as Joseph Scaliger said upon a like occasion, and it requires something of a hand to throw dirt. Bossuet, though he did not fight with such weapons as Jurieu, yet attacked Grotius as a dangerous author and a Socinian; and made remarks upon him, which are mere declamation and *verbiage*. It is one thing to be Bishop of Meaux, and another thing to be Hugo Grotius:

Οὐ[f] γὰρ ἐν μέσοισι κεῖται
Δῶρα δυσμαχητὰ Μοισᾶν
Τῷπιτυχόντι φέρειν.

Calmet, if I remember right, has also treated Grotius in the same manner. Grotius was inclined to think and to judge rather too favourably than too hardly of the church of Rome; for which some of the ecclesiastics of that communion have repaid him with the gratitude that was to be expected, and have taught by-standers, that he who endeavours to stroke a tiger into good humour, will at least have his fingers bitten off in the experiment.

Herodotus is of opinion, that divination and oracles had their rise in Ægypt, and thence came into Afric and Greece; and that the oracle at Dodona was the most antient in Greece. l. ii. The opinion is very probable; for Ægypt was the nursery of idolatry and superstition. Homer mentions the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, and that of Apollo at Pytho, or Delphi, as being illustrious in the time of the Trojan war; and represents the latter as immensely rich. Il. Π. 233. I. 404.

Herodotus shows us the great authority of oracles, from antient times down to his own, by which kingdoms were disposed of, and war and peace were made. He relates, that the Heraclidæ, who, before Gyges, reigned in Lydia, at Sardes, obtained the kingdom by an oracle; and that Gyges, who slew his master Candaules, had the kingdom adjudged to him by the Delphic oracle; which favour he rewarded by sending thither large gifts. Herodotus every where speaks of oracles, divination, and prodigies, as one who firmly believed in them, and who was displeased with those that slighted them. See viii. 77. He gives us there an

[f] Non enim in medio jacent
Ardua dona Musarum
A quolibet auferenda.

oracle of Bacis, in which there is a remarkable expression, and in the style of the Scriptures,

Δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἱόν·

'Compescet juvenem meritissima pœna superbum:'

as Psalm lxxxix. 22.—'nor the *son* of *wickedness* afflict him.' 2 Sam. vii. 10. 'neither shall the *children* of *wickedness* afflict them.' Judas is called 'the son of perdition,' John xvii. 12. where see Grotius.

Herodotus also relates prophetic dreams, which were said to have been accomplished; as the dream of Crœsus, of Astyages, and of others. 'Having travelled,' says Prideaux, 'through Ægypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, he did, as travellers used to do,—he put down relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt was imposed upon in many of them.'

Tiresias had an oracle at Orchomenus, which having been famous for some ages, was silent after a plague had raged in that town. It is highly probable, as Bayle observes, that the distemper swept away all the priests, and that none was left to conduct the affair, and to forge responses. Bayle Dict. *Tiresias.* As to the evil dæmons, it is to be supposed that the plague did not destroy them, and that they were as capable of prophesying after, as before it.

Van Dale, in his book De Oraculis, observes, that the oracular temples were usually situated in mountainous places, which abounded with caverns fitted for frauds:

That the oracles were delivered only at stated times:

That at Delphi, the priestess had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down, and explain, and mend her gibberish; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses: for if they were defective the fault was laid upon the amanuensis:

That the consulters sometimes wrote their requests, and received answers in writing:

That the priests had the art of opening letters and closing them again, without breaking the seal:

That the *adyta*, whence the oracles were delivered, were shaded with branches, and clouded with incense, to help the fraud:

That in the temples sweet smells were suddenly diffused, to show that the god was in good humour:

That there are drugs, herbs, and fumigations which will make a man foam at the mouth, and be delirious; and that the priestess might use such methods:

'Father Ange de S. Joseph, a Carmelite and missionary in the Levant, relates that a person worthy of credit having taken a pill of Persian opium, was forced, for many hours, to laugh and to talk nonsense, in spite of himself. He saw little phantasms pass before his eyes, and goblins who made a very grotesque appearance, and felt several other extraordinary effects, without any bad consequence.

'This example shows how certain compositions can operate upon the imagination and the senses. The father did not care to say that himself was the person to whom this happened; but Chardin attests it in his Voyages.' Beausobre, Hist. de Manich. i. p. 186.

That it might also sometimes be grimace and artifice:

That the god sometimes gave answers himself, by a voice, or by the motion of his statue, &c.

THIS is what I had to offer concerning divination and prophecy in general, the Sibylline oracles excepted, which shall be examined apart.

THE prophecies relating to our Saviour and to Christianity have some of them a mixture of obscurity, and the interpretations which have been given of them are various: but this ought to be matter neither of wonder nor of offence, because in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

'It were indeed to be wondered if obscurity should not lie upon some of the prophecies, the latest whereof was written at the distance of above two thousand years ago.

'Prophetic writings, besides what is common to them with other writings, to grow dark with age, have something peculiar in their nature to render them less intelligible. Prophecies, remote from the time of their accomplishment, and whose completion depends on the concurrence of free agents, are not wont to be delivered very distinctly at first.

'The obscurity becomes greater from the language wherein they are written. The Hebrew, as other eastern languages, is entirely different from the European. Many things are there left to be supplied by the quickness of the reader's apprehension, which are with us expressed by pro-

per words and repetitions. Particles disjunctive and adversative, significative marks of connection and of transition from one subject to another, are often omitted here. Dialogues are carried on, objections answered, comparisons made, without notice in the discourse; and through frequent change of persons, tenses, and numbers, we are left to guess who are the persons spoken of, which gave no difficulty to them whose living language it was.

'The prophetic style is of all other the most copious this way. It seems to be a sort of language by itself. It ties itself to no order or method, but passes from one subject to another insensibly, and suddenly resumes it again, and often sallies out to the main thing that was intended in the prophet's thoughts. The prophets used to act part of what they were to foretell. Those actions supplying the place of words, and being not expressed in the writing, a sort of chasm is sometimes to be discerned in them; as, at other times, different discourses or addresses distinguishable in the speaking, by proper signs and motions, seem now to be connected, though they have no relation to each other.—

'What increases the difficulty, is the little or no order that the collectors have placed the prophecies in, according to the usage of the antients, who joined together writings upon different occasions of the same authors, and sometimes of different authors, as if they made but one continued discourse.—

'The mistake might have been in some measure prevented, had the books written by the Jews after their return from the Babylonian captivity remained to our days.—But these helps fail us; and not one book written in the Hebrew tongue, since prophecy ceased, hath escaped the general calamity that hath befallen the Jewish writings.' Bp. Chandler Introd. to Defense of Christian.

'Oratio Jesaiæ sic est constructa, ut de illius arte, elegantia, ἐνεργείᾳ, pondere, nihil tam magnificum cogitari ac dici possit, quin sit infra ejus meritum.—Sed id ipsum est, quod interpretem multis in locis impedit, ejusque, studiosi etiam et bonis subsidiis instructi, diligentiam ac judicium valde exercet. Imo vero censeo, nullius mortalis, licet in Hebræis literis docte versati, tantum esse acumen, peritiam, perspicaciam, ut prophetæ nostro longe pluribus locis red-

dere potuerit genuinum suum sensum, nisi lectio antiqua synagogica per traditionem in scholis Hebræorum fuisset conservata, ut eam nunc Masoretharum punctulis expressam habemus.' Vitringa, Præfat. ad Jesaiam.

'Il y a dans les prophetes beaucoup de mots très-obscurs, qui pouvoient être clairs autrefois, que la langue Hebraïque étoit florissante. Il y a encore plus de passages, où la construction et la liaison du discours ne sont pas faciles à développer, et où l'on ne voit pas bien ce que les prophetes ont voulu dire. Les allusions fréquentes à des choses, qui nous sont inconnues, soit à l'égard des Juifs, soit à l'égard de la plûpart des peuples voisins, dont il ne nous reste aucuns monumens, ne servent pas peu à embarrasser les interpretes.' Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xxvii. 381.

'Nos sane suas elegantias esse Hebræorum linguæ, quemadmodum ceteris omnibus, non negamus; sed cum cultis et copiosis linguis conferendam esse non putamus. Monendus tamen est lector eam a nobis spectari, non qualis olim dum florebat fortasse fuit, sed qualis superest in libris sacris, quibus omnes ejus reliquiæ continentur. Multo quidem plura vocabula, pluresque phrases in usu fuisse, quam quæ in modico volumine leguntur, non ægre fatemur. Sed quoad potest ex ejus reliquiis judicium ferri, inopem eam, ambiguam, et parum cultam fuisse existimamus, quod jam ostendere aggrediemur.

'Linguarum omnium laudes in tribus potissimum rebus sitæ sunt, in copia vocabulorum et phrasium, in perspicuitate orationis, ejusque elegantia, cujus a rhetoribus canones describuntur; quibus rebus multo Hebraicâ superiores sunt multæ linguæ, et Græca quidem præ ceteris; nec quasi pulcherrimam jactari Hebraicam posse, manifestum est,' &c. &c. Le Clerc, Proleg. ad V. T. Diss. i.

Such are the difficulties which attend the interpretation of the prophecies, and which I chose to represent in the words of competent judges.

And yet that Jesus was the Messias foretold by the prophets, appears thus:

The prophets speak of a new and second covenant which God would make with his people. They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the conversion of the Gentiles from superstition and idolatry to the worship of

the true God; they speak of four successive empires, the last of which was the Roman empire; and under this last empire they say that a new and everlasting kingdom should be established by one to whom God should give absolute power and dominion. A great person was to come, who should be Emmanuel, or, God with us, the Son of God, and the Son of man, of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of David; born of a virgin, poor and obscure, and yet one whom David calls his Lord; the Lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty God, a great king, an everlasting priest, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem; a prophet like unto Moses, but greater than Moses; a prophet who should preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort the mourners, and heal the broken-hearted; who should proclaim his gospel first and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the Gentiles; who should have a forerunner in the spirit of Elias, crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord;' who should instruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the destruction of the temple, in which temple he should be seen and heard; who should enter into Jerusalem meek and humble, and riding on an ass; who should work miracles more than Moses and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praise God, and the lame to leap like a hart; who, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he should be a stumbling-block; who should be despised and afflicted, a man of sorrow, and cut off from the land of the living; who should have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked; who should be accused by false witnesses, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, sold for thirty pieces of silver, and the money given for a potter's field, when it had been flung away by the traitor, who should not live long after his crime, and whose office should be filled up by another; that his enemies should use him contumeliously, buffet him, and spit upon him, whilst he should be led like a lamb to the slaughter, not opening his mouth, and uttering nothing, except intercessions for the trans-

gressors; that his enemies should strip him of his raiment, divide it amongst themselves, and cast lots upon it, surround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and shake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink; that he should be reduced to so weak and languishing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart should melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth; that he should be brought to the dust of death; that he should be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken; that he should be laid in the sepulchre of a rich and honourable man, none of his enemies hindering it; that he should rise again before he had seen corruption, and subdue his enemies, and ascend into heaven, and sit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honour and glory, and see his seed, and prosper, and justify many, and be adored by kings and princes; that then Jerusalem should be made desolate, and the Jews dispersed in all lands, and the Gentiles should be converted, and flow into the church. These things were said concerning some person; and they are all applicable to Christ.

God foretold by his prophets in a clear and exact manner many great changes and revolutions, many things relating to the fates and fortunes of the Jews, and of the neighbouring nations with whom they were concerned. The only possible objection which can be made to these predictions is, that perhaps they were written after the event. I shall therefore mention a few, out of several, which cannot be suspected of such a forgery.

Ezechiel[5] thus prophesies concerning Ægypt: 'Ægypt shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.' xxix. 15.

Ægypt was attacked and oppressed by the Persians, by Cambyses, by Xerxes, by Darius Nothus, and conquered by Ochus three hundred and fifty years before Christ; and from that time to this day the Ægyptians never had an Ægyptian king, but have been under the government of the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks. Eusebius was mistaken in dating the subjection of Ægypt to a foreign power from the victory of Augustus at Actium,

[5] Isaiah prophesied more than seven hundred, Jeremiah more than six hundred, and Ezechiel almost six hundred years before Christ.

and the death of Antony and Cleopatra. Dem. Evang. vi. p. 299.

Concerning Babylon it was foretold:—'The wild beasts of the desert—shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever: neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof—so no man shall dwell there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.—They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord.—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant.—When thou hast made an end of reading this book, thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates. And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.—Babylon the glory of kingdoms—shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there: neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there,—and dragons in their pleasant places.' Jer. l. 39. li. 26. 37. 64. Isai. xiii. 19.

Seleucus built Seleucia, before Christ 293, which completed the ruin and desolation of Babylon: a desolation that continues to this day. Prideaux Connect. p. I. b. viii. p. 448. fol. ed. and Vitringa on Isai. xiii.

Concerning Tyre it was prophesied: 'I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more;—thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more.' Ezech. xxvi. 14. 21. xxvii. 36. xxviii. 19.

Old Tyre and New Tyre are no more, and only exist in history. 'Tyrus insularis—tandem pervenit ad eum statum, quo hodie deprehenditur, ut in ipsa Tyro quoque itinerator Tyrum quærat et non agnoscat: perinde ut res se habuit cum Babylone. Qui articuli imminutionis Tyri, et varia ejus fata a me ex historia demonstrari possent, si vere cum Marshamo aliisque mihi non persuaderem, vaticinium hoc Ezechielis intelligendum esse de *Tyro vetere*, urbe olim

multo majore et potentiore, quam fuit *Tyrus nova insularis*, licet ea ipsi accensita fuerit; quæ Tyrus insularis post hoc tempus sola culta est, et gloriam Tyri veteris sustinuit:—dum altera pars ejus, hoc est, *Tyrus vetus*, plane subverteretur, numquam *reædificanda*, ab Alexandro dein plane diruta, qui ruderibus lapidibusque ejus usus est in Tyro insulari oppugnanda; ut adeo hodieque ejus Palætyri nihil amplius supersit, nec locus nisi ad signa veterum geographorum, eaque non satis certa, demonstrari possit.' Vitringa ad Isai. xxiii. p. 703. See also Prideaux Connect.

'The city of Tyre, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in antient times. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, That it should be *as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.*' Maundrel's Journey, p. 48.

In Genesis xvi. the angel said to Hagar—'Thou shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael;—and he will be a wild man [as savage as a wild ass], his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.'

Ishmael was the father of the Arabs, who are, and ever have been, such as Ishmael is here described, robbers, freebooters, and independent vagabonds.

In the same book, ch. xxvii. Isaac says to his son Esau, 'By thy sword shalt thou live.' Esau was the father of the Idumæans, who were always a warlike people, ravaging their neighbours, and of a restless disposition. Such they were in the days of Josephus, who gives them this character: Θορυβῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον ἔθνος, ἀεί τε μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, καὶ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην δὲ κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων, τὰ ὅπλα κινοῦν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἑορτὴν, εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐπειγόμενον. 'Turbarum avida, et incondita gens, semperque ad motus suspensa, mutationibus gaudens, mi-

nimis petentium blanditiis arma movens, et in prœlia festinans, quasi ad festum.' B. J. iv. 4.

The most extraordinary person who ever appeared amongst the Jews was Christ, who, without human means, and with a few poor disciples, brought about a greater change, and accomplished a greater undertaking, than any Jew ever conceived and attempted.

If he were the Messias, it is reasonable to suppose that the prophets, who so accurately and undeniably foretold the things relating to Babylon, Tyre, &c. would give some indications of this sacred person, which was of more importance to the Jews and to mankind; and consequently it is reasonable to think, that we rightly understand in general the prophecies which are applied to him. If he falsely assumed the character which he took, yet since he had the art and the success to make many of the Jews, and a great part of the Gentile world, believe in him, it was to be expected that some caution would have been given in the prophetic writings to the Jews, that they might not be misled by him, nor expect any prophet after Malachi.

Passages in the Old Testament which have been applied to him are of four sorts.

I. Accommodations:
II. Direct prophecies:
III. Types:
IV. Prophecies of double senses.

I. Accommodations are passages of the Old Testament which are adapted by the writers of the New to something that happened in their time, because of some correspondence and similitude. These are no prophecies, though they be said sometimes to be *fulfilled*; for any thing may be said to be *fulfilled*, when it can be pertinently applied. For example, St. Matthew says: 'All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.' The meaning is apparently no more than this: that what the psalmist said of his way of teaching, might justly be said of those discourses of Christ.

Thus the apostles frequently allude to the sacred books; and thus Pagan writers often cite passages from their old

poets, to describe things[h] of which those poets never thought; and this is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing: and a passage applied justly, and in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to be agreeably surprised, and to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. He has that surprise which the Latin poet so poetically gives to the tree:

'Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.'

II. Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the Gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense. Upon these we ought principally to insist, when we would prove the truth of our religion from the predictions of the Old Testament; and of these there is a considerable number. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles, the everlasting kingdom of the Son of man, to be erected during the time of the Roman empire, and the second covenant. Such is the cxth Psalm: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool,' &c. This is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be: it is applicable to Christ alone; and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors who persecuted his church. But of this prophecy something more shall be said when we come to the reign of Constantine.

III. A type is a rough draft, a less accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened, and were done in antient time, and are recorded in the Old Testament; and which are found afterwards to describe or represent something which befel our Lord, and which relates to him and to his gospel. For example: under the law, a lamb was offered for a sin-offering; and thus an atonement was made for transgressions. John the Baptist calls Christ 'the lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world;' and St. Peter tells Christians, that they are re-

[h] Diogenes the Cynic was remarkable for this sort of wit; and many of his applications, or parodies of Homer, are very happy and ingenious.

deemed 'by the blood of Christ, as of a lamb.' Hence we infer and conclude, that the lamb was a type of Christ; and, upon considering it, we find that it has all that can be required to constitute a type: for it is in many respects a very just and lively representation of Christ. The lamb died for no offence of his own, but for the sins of others; so did Christ: the lamb could not commit sin by his nature, nor Christ by his perfection: the lamb was without bodily spot or blemish; Christ was holy and undefiled: a lamb is meek and patient; such was the afflicted and much-injured Son of God.

These types are useful to persons who have already received Christianity upon other and stronger evidence, as they show the beautiful harmony and correspondence between the Old and New Testament; but they seem not proper proofs to satisfy and convince doubters, who will say perhaps with the schoolmen, 'Theologia symbolica non est argumentativa.'

Unless we have the authority of the scriptures of the New Testament for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person, or this or that thing, mentioned in the Old Testament is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them; but we may admit it as probable.

'Joseph was a Nazarene, as the word may denote a separate person. And though he were not under a Nazarite's vow, yet as he was separate from his brethren, he is called *Nazir*[1], a Nazarite, in the more general and lax signification of the word. And there is a very singular correspondence between him and Jesus. Joseph was the beloved son of his father; and so is Jesus too. But as he was hated by his brethren; so Jesus came "to his own, and his own received him not." If the sun, moon, and stars did, in a figure, obeisance to Joseph; they did it to Jesus without a trope. Come, let us kill him, was the language of the brethren both of Joseph and of Jesus.—They were both sold for pieces of money; both became servants. The bloody coat of Joseph answers to the blood of Jesus. They were both forced down into Ægypt; both were "numbered with

[1] Gen. xlix, 26.

transgressors." Joseph is imprisoned with Pharaoh's butler and baker; one of them is saved, the other destroyed: Jesus suffers with two thieves; and one of them is saved also. Joseph sold corn, and saves his people; so does Jesus, the multiplier of loaves, and the "bread of life." If Joseph exhorted his brethren to peace; so did Jesus. If they bowed the knee to Joseph; "every knee must bow to Jesus." If Joseph were highly exalted upon his sufferings; so was Jesus. They were both "men of sorrow," both "fruitful branches," both lifted up from a low and sorrowful condition.

'Sampson was a Nazarite, in the strictest sense, and a perpetual one, and a type of the Messias too, as the Jews intimate in their two targums upon Gen. xlix. 18. A very fit type he was of Jesus Christ. He was so in his very birth: he was the son of a barren woman; Jesus of a virgin. The tidings of the birth of Sampson were brought to his mother by an angel; as was that of the birth of Jesus. "He shall be a Nazarite," says the angel of Sampson; and of Jesus it is said that he dwelt in Nazareth, "that it might be fulfilled which was said by the prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene." Of Sampson the angel foretells that he should deliver Israel; and the angel tells of Jesus, that he should save his people. An angel was sent to satisfy both Manoah and Joseph. If the Spirit of God be said to move Sampson; that Spirit descended upon Jesus, and led him into the wilderness. If Sampson married a Philistine woman; Jesus espoused the Gentiles. Sampson killed the lion, destroyed the Philistines, removed the gates of the city, and at his death gave the greatest blow to his enemies; but it is Jesus Christ that overcame the devil, and the world, and got the conquest of death and hell, that destroyed the devil by his death, and that raised himself up from death to life.' Kidder's Demonstr. of the Messias, ch. iii.

IV. There are prophecies of double senses, which admit no more than two senses, which are nearly of the same kind with typical prophecies; and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by observing, that the prophet meant one thing, and the Spirit of God, who spake by him, meant another thing: for the holy Spirit so over-ruled the pro-

phets as to make them use words, which strictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themselves intended.

Somewhat of this kind is the prophecy of the high-priest Caiaphas: for the Spirit of God has sometimes spoken by bad men. When the chief-priests and Pharisees consulted what they should do with Jesus, the high-priest said, 'Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.' His meaning was plainly this, that it mattered not whether Christ were guilty or innocent, because the public safety absolutely required his death. 'And this spake he,' says St. John, 'not of himself; but, being high-priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation:' that is, be a sacrifice and atonement for their sins. He prophesied then, and knew it not; for he had himself another intent and meaning.

As Daniel, xii. 8, 9. says, that he knew not the meaning of the prediction which he delivered; so the Gentiles, if we may be permitted to introduce them upon this occasion, have remarked concerning their prophets, that they knew not the import of their own prophecies, or rather that they were merely passive, and knew not even that they were speaking: λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι, says Socrates, in Plato's Apol. and in Menon. p. 99. ed. Steph. The Sibyl also says, or is made to say, concerning herself, l. ii.

——— οὔτε γὰρ οἶδα
Ὅττι λέγω, κέλεται δὲ Θεός [μὲ] ἕκαστ' ἀγορεύειν.

which is very like the words cited from Plato. Tacitus, Annal. ii. 54. 'Tunc [sacerdos] haustâ fontis arcani aquâ, ignarus plerumque literarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus,' &c.

When the prophets of God spake in his name, they talked and acted like men who knew that they were prophesying. In some of the Pagan oracles the god is supposed to use the organs of the man, and the man is supposed to know nothing of the discourse. This appears to have been the case of some dæmoniacs in the New Testament, in whom the evil spirit was the speaker. The Pagan

prophets, therefore, either were, or pretended to be, out of their senses; and by this argument some sly or credulous people imposed upon Justin Martyr (if he wrote the Cohortatio), and made an excuse for the nonsense and the faults against metre in the Sibylline oracles. The Sibyl, said they, uttered verses when she was inspired; when the inspiration ceased, she remembered nothing that she had said. They who attended her, and wrote down her prophecies, being often unskilful and illiterate people, made frequent mistakes, and gave us lame verses and false quantities. Cohort. ad Græc. 38. See what is said above, p. 201. See also Smith on Prophecy, who has collected passages from Plato and others, to show that the Pagan prophets were in a sort of phrensy and delirium. ch. iv.

This is the very same excuse which the Pagans made for the bad style and other defects of their oracles. Van Dale De Orac. p. 162.

'Since no prophecy of the scripture is of any "private interpretation," that is, the meaning of prophecies is not what perhaps the prophet himself might imagine in his private judgment of the state of things then present, but "holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" there may therefore very possibly, and very reasonably be supposed to be many prophecies, which though they may have a prior and immediate reference to some nearer event, yet by the Spirit of God (whom those prophecies which are express, show to have had a further view) may have been directed to be uttered in such words as may even more properly and more justly be applied to the great event which Providence had in view, than to the intermediate event which God designed only as a pledge or earnest of the other,' &c. Clarke's Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Rel.

Of *omens*, to which Pagan superstition paid great regard from the time of Homer, there were several where the words of the omen had one sense, and the event, as they say, verified it in another sense. Here is a remarkable instance: 'Cæcilia Metelli, dum sororis filiæ, adultæ ætatis virgini, more prisco, nocte concubia, nuptialia petit, omen ipsa fecit. Nam cum in sacello quodam, ejus rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset, nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita; fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit mater-

teram, ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret; cui illa, "Ego vero," inquit, "tibi mea sede cedo." Quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum, ad certi ominis processit eventum: quoniam Metellus non ita multo post, mortua Cæcilia, virginem de qua loquor, in matrimonium duxit.' Val. Maximus, i. v. 4. The same story is related by Cicero, De Divin. i. 46. Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, says: Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ Θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς. καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμπεν παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν· ὡς δὲ ἀρνουμένης καὶ προϊσχομένης τὸν νομὸν, αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἵλκεν αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐξηττημένη τῆς σπουδῆς, εἶπεν, Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἔτι ἔφη χρήζειν ἑτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλὰ ἔχειν ὃν ἐβούλετο παρ' αὐτῆς χρησμόν. 'Delphos ad Deum de bello consulendum profectus, quod forte dies nefasti essent, quibus non erat solenne oracula edere, primo misit certos, qui vatem orarent ut veniret. Recusante illa, et legem caussante, ascendit ipse, et vi traxit eam ad templum. Quæ illius contentione expugnata ait, "Invictus es, fili." Id audiens Alexander, negavit se alias sortes quærere sed jam habere quod petierat ab ea oraculum.'

If the words of Caiaphas will admit two senses, it follows not that they will admit ten, or as many as the teeming imagination of a fanatic can suggest; and prophecies of double senses, if such prophecies there be, may have meanings as determinate and fixed as if they had only one sense. The same is true of allegorical writings. Horace Carmin. I. xiv. says,

'O navis, referent in mare te novi,' &c.

The commentators on this poem are divided: one part contend for the literal sense, and the other for the allegorical; but the ode has a double sense. The poet addresses himself to a real ship; and yet intended, under that image or emblem, to dissuade the Romans from exposing themselves again to a civil war. This will remove some difficulties raised by writers on both sides of the question.

Mr. Warburton made the same remark; and to him I resign it, as unto the first occupier, unless he will let me claim a part of it upon the privilege of friendship, and as

κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων. Indeed the interpretation is so unforced and obvious, that I wonder it came not into the mind of many persons.

Moses said of the Paschal lamb, 'neither shall ye break a bone thereof.' St. John says that this was fulfilled in Christ: whence it has been not unreasonably inferred, that those words had, with the most obvious sense, a prophetical, that is, a double sense.

David seems to speak concerning himself, when he says, 'Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption.' He intended perhaps no more than this: Thou shalt not suffer me to come to an untimely end, to be killed by mine enemies, and cast into the grave;—but then the divine impulse which was upon him made him use words which should suit exactly to Christ, and to himself only in a loose and figurative sense. Of this the prophet himself might be sensible, and might know that his words had another import, and that they should be fulfilled twice; both in the sense which he intended, and in the sublimer sense of the holy Spirit. By these means a shade was cast over the prophecy, and the sense of the Spirit was concealed till the event unfolded it, and made it conspicuous; which obscurity seems to have been sometimes necessary, that the persons[i] concerned in bringing about the accomplishment might not know what was predicted concerning them and their actions.

In Deuteronomy, xviii. 18, 19. it is said: 'I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.' And verse 15. 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet in the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.'

[i] It is proper that men should be treated as free-agents: and men are free; at least they think so; and few of them will give up this persuasion, and suffer themselves to be quibbled out of their senses and experience. Truth and general utility will be found always to coincide; and one would be glad to know what useful purposes can be served from the doctrine of fatalism. The fatalist will say, it will make a man humble. It is as likely to make him a mathematician or a poet.

1. The intention of Moses seems to have been to administer some consolation to the people who would soon be deprived of him; and in him of the best friend and ruler that any nation ever enjoyed. Therefore he took occasion to assure them that they should not be destitute of a prophet; and that God would, in compassion and kindness to them, supply the loss which they would sustain by the death of their deliverer and conductor.

2. When the law was delivered with dreadful pomp, and the voice of God was heard, and his majesty appeared in formidable splendor, the people were extremely terrified; for it was an opinion common both amongst Jews and Pagans, that no man could safely approach the Deity; and that death, or some great evil, was the consequence of beholding him. See Le Clerc on Gen. xvi. 13. Therefore they besought Moses to intreat for them, that they might no more be brought into such danger. For this reason, and to calm their fears, Moses assured them that for the time to come God would speak to them not in person, but by a mediator, by a prophet, by a man like themselves. 'The Lord thy God,' says he, 'will raise up unto thee a prophet—according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken: I will raise them up a prophet.'

3. The Pagan nations had their gods, their oracles, their soothsayers and magicians, and there was great danger lest the people of Israel should go and consult them, and so fall into idolatry; and in fact all these iniquities ensued in following times. That nothing might be wanted to guard against this corruption, and that the transgressors might be inexcusable, God positively forbad them to go after the gods, the priests, and the prophets of other nations, and promised them that they should never want a prophet of their own. Thus, after the death of Moses, they had Joshua, and Samuel, and Elijah, and Elisha, and other illustrious men, besides the high-priest, by whom they used to consult God upon all important occasions. This interpretation is favoured by the context. 'There shall not be found

among you one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer—For these nations which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.—I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.'

Some understand this of a succession of prophets in general, and more particularly of the Messias, who of all the prophets resembled Moses the most.

Others think that the Messias alone is here foretold, since the words, in a strict and accurate sense, represent him alone.

Each of these interpretations has had learned defenders:

'magno se judice quæque tuetur.'

But I observe,

1. Both these interpretations agree in this, that Christ is here promised and foretold, nor indeed is the first very discordant from the second; for if Moses meant in general every prophet, and any prophet who should succeed him, the Messias cannot be excluded; and if the Messias resembles Moses in a particular manner, the prophecy points him out above all the rest.

2. St. Stephen and St. Peter say, that Jesus Christ is the prophet foretold by Moses; and Christ himself had probably this passage in view, when he said, 'If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me.'

3. Though Moses might perhaps mean a succession of prophets, yet the Spirit of God, who was then upon him, guided him to use words which should describe the Messias much better than any other prophet. The other prophets were only so far like unto Moses that they were prophets, but in many respects they were not like him. In the

last chapter of Deuteronomy, there is an addition which was made to the books of Moses, long after his death, by some prophet, probably, who inserts the following remark: 'And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses;' which has a manifest reference to the prophecy of which we are treating, and may be thus understood: although Moses said that the Lord would raise up one like unto him, yet this prophecy has not yet been accomplished in a strict and full sense: there has not yet arisen one like unto him; but this great prophet is still to come.

This last chapter of Deuteronomy seems to have been composed by two authors, and at two different times: the first part down to the ninth verse soon after the death of Moses, the three last verses long afterwards.

Add to this, that the resemblance between Moses and Christ is so very great and striking, that it is impossible to consider it fairly and carefully, without seeing and acknowledging that he must be foretold where he is so well described.

Ammonius wrote a book commended by Eusebius and Jerom, Περὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας, 'De consensu Mosis ac Jesu,' which is not extant. Euseb. E. H. vi. 19. Whether this treatise were designed to show the resemblance and agreement between the persons, or between their doctrines, we cannot say: perhaps it was the latter.

Eusebius has treated the subject, on which I am entering, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, l. iii. p. 90, &c. ed. Paris. 1628; but as he was hastening to other points, he has not discussed this so fully as to discourage those who should be inclined to attempt the same thing. I shall therefore endeavour to make several improvements upon his remarks, and additions to them.

1. First, and which is the principal of all, Moses was a lawgiver, and the mediator of a covenant between God and man; so was Christ. Here the resemblance is the more considerable, because no other prophet besides them executed this high office.

The other prophets were only interpreters and enforcers of the law, and in this were greatly inferior to Moses. The Messias could not be like unto Moses in a strict sense,

unless he were a legislator[k]. He must give a law to men, and consequently a more excellent law, and a better covenant than the first: for if the first had been perfect, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, there could have been no room for a second.

2. Other prophets had revelations in dreams and visions, but Moses talked with God, with the Λόγος, face to face; so Christ spake that which he had seen with the Father.

'If there be a prophet among you,' says God to Aaron and Miriam, 'I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my house; with him I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold.' Num. xii.

'All the prophets of the Old Testament saw visions and dreamed dreams; all the prophets of the New were in the same state. St. Peter had a vision, St. John saw visions, St. Paul had visions and dreams. But Christ neither saw visions, nor dreamed a dream, but had an intimate and immediate communication with the Father; he was in the Father's bosom; and he, and no man else had seen the Father.—Moses and Christ are the only two in all the sacred history who had this communication with God.' Bp. Sherlock, Disc. vi.

3. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the cruelty of a tyrant, and from the destruction of all the male children: so was Christ.

4. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king: so did Christ, when his parents carried him into Ægypt. Afterwards, 'the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Ægypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life,' Exod. iv. 19. So the angel of the Lord said to Joseph, in almost the same words, 'Arise, and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life,' Matt. ii. 20, pointing him out, as it were, for that prophet who should arise like unto Moses.

[k] By this prediction Moses guarded the people against the prejudice which his own authority was like to create against a new lawgiver; telling them beforehand, that when the great prophet came, their obedience ought to be transferred to him. Bp. Sherlock, Disc. ii.

5. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction: Christ had the kingdoms of the world offered him by Satan, and rejected them; and when the people would have made him a king, he hid himself, choosing rather to suffer affliction.

6. 'Moses,' says St. Stephen, 'was learned, ἐπαιδεύθη, in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds;' and Josephus, Ant. Jud. ii. 9. says, that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years, which is taken from Jewish tradition, and which of itself is highly probable: St. Luke observes of Christ, that 'he increased (betimes) in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man;' and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. The difference was, that Moses acquired his early knowledge by human instruction, and Christ by a divine *afflatus*. To both of them might be applied what Callimachus elegantly feigns of Jupiter:

Ὀξὺ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον ἴουλοι·
Ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια.

'Swift was thy growth, and early was thy bloom,
But earlier wisdom crown'd thy infant days.'

7. Moses delivered his people from cruel oppression and a heavy bondage: so did Christ from the worst tyranny of sin and Satan.

8. Moses contended with the magicians, and had the advantage over them so manifestly, that they could no longer withstand him, but were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted: Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowledgments from them.

9. Moses assured the people whom he conducted, that if they would be obedient, they should enter into the happy land of promise; which land was usually understood by the wiser Jews to be an emblem and a figure of that eternal and celestial kingdom to which Christ opened an entrance.

10. Moses reformed the nation corrupted with Ægyptian superstition and idolatry: Christ restored true religion.

11. Moses wrought a great variety of miracles: so did

Christ; and in this the parallel is remarkable, since besides Christ 'there arose not a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.'

12. Moses was not only a law-giver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest. He is called a king, Deut. xxxiii. 5. and he had indeed, though not the pomp, and the crown and sceptre, yet the authority of a king, and was the supreme magistrate; and the office of priest he often exercised: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. In the interpretation of Deut. xxxiii. 5. I prefer the sense of Grotius and Selden to Le Clerc's. The parallel between Moses and Christ requires it, and no objection can be made to it. The Apostolical Constitutions also, if their judgment be of any weight, call Moses 'high-priest and king:' τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα. vi. 3.

13. Moses, says Theodoret, married an Æthiopian woman, at which his relations were much offended; and in this he was a type of Christ, who espoused the church of the Gentiles, whom the Jews were very unwilling to admit to the same favours and privileges with themselves. But I should not choose to lay a great stress upon this typical similitude, though it be ingenious.

14. Moses fasted in the desert forty days and nights before he gave the law: so did Elias, the restorer of the law; and so did Christ before he entered into his ministry.

15. Moses fed the people miraculously in the wilderness: so did Christ, with bread and with doctrine; and the manna which descended from heaven, and the loaves which Christ multiplied were proper images of the spiritual food which the Saviour of the world bestowed upon his disciples.

'Our fathers,' said the Jews, 'did eat manna in the desert forty years, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Jesus said unto them, My Father (now) giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world. I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.' John vi.

The metaphors of hungring and thirsting after virtue and knowledge, and of eating and drinking them; and the re-

presentation of benefits of any kind, under the expressions of food and drink, have been common in all writers sacred and profane.

St. Paul says to the Corinthians: 'All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.'

Whether the passage of the Israelites through the sea, and under the cloud, the water issuing from the rock which Moses smote, and the manna which descended from heaven, were types intended to be fulfilled in Christ, and in the benefits and privileges of Christianity; or whether the apostle referred to these things by way of allusion, similitude, and accommodation, I determine not.

16. Moses led the people through the sea: Christ walked upon it, and enabled Peter to do so.

17. Moses commanded the sea to retire and give way: Christ commanded the winds and the waves to be still.

18. Moses brought darkness over the land: the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion. And as the darkness which was spread over Ægypt was followed by the destruction of their first-born[1], and of Pharaoh and his host: so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews, when, in the metaphorical and prophetic style, and according to Christ's express prediction, 'the sun was darkened, and the moon withdrew her light, and the stars fell from heaven,' the ecclesiastical and

[1] Mr. Wasse had a conjecture, that the untimely death of Pharaoh's first-born son, who was, perhaps, better beloved than his father, gave occasion to the song, which the Greeks called 'Linus,' and which they had from the Ægyptians: ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λῖνος καλεύμενος Μανέρως. ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι· ἀποθανόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνωρον, θρήνοισι τούτοισι ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ ἀοιδήν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι. 'Vocatur autem Linus Ægyptiace Maneros: quem Ægyptii tradiderunt, quùm filius unicus extitisset primi Ægypti regis, præmaturaque morte decessisset, his lamentis ab Ægyptiis fuisse decoratum: et cantilenam hanc primam eamque solam ipsos habuisse.' Herodotus ii. 79.

It may be observed, though it is a trifle, that Gronovius gives us Λῖνος circumflexed; but the first syllable is short in the best writers: and Moschus says, Epitaph. Bion.

ΑΙΛΙΝΑ μοι στοναχεῖτε νάπαι, καὶ Δώριον ὕδωρ

Sophocles Ajac. 632. Αἴλινον, αἴλινον.

civil state of the Jews was overturned, and the rulers of both were destroyed.

19. The face of Moses shone when he descended from the mountain: the same happened unto Christ at his transfiguration on the mountain. Moses and Elias appeared then with him, to show that the law and the prophets bare witness to him; and the divine voice said, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye him,' alluding most evidently to the prediction of Moses, 'unto him shall ye hearken.'

20. Moses cleansed one leper: Christ many.

21. Moses foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their disobedience: so did Christ.

22. Moses chose and appointed seventy elders to be over the people: Christ chose such a number of disciples.

23. The Spirit which was in Moses was conferred, in some degree, upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied: Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples.

24. Moses sent twelve men to spy out the land which was to be conquered: Christ sent his apostles into the world to subdue it by a more glorious and miraculous conquest.

25. Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations: so was Christ, by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his church.

26. Moses conquered Amalech by lifting and holding up both his hands all the day: Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. This resemblance has been observed by some of the antient Christians, and ridiculed by some of the moderns, but without sufficient reason I think.

27. Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God: so did Christ.

28. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people, by sprinkling them with blood: Christ with his own blood.

29. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book: Christ did more, he died for sinners.

30. Moses instituted the Passover, when a lamb was sacri-

them; and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

35. Moses was very meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth: so was Christ.

36. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead: by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers.

37. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances. Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him. 'The Lord,' says Moses to them, 'was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither, but thou shalt die.' Deut. i. 37. Moses therefore went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.' Christ suffered for the sins of men; and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, was ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent: their sufferings were of another kind.

38. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay: nor could the Jews find the body of Christ.

39. Lastly, as Moses, a little before his death, promised the people that 'God would raise them up a prophet like unto him:' so Christ, taking leave of his afflicted disciples, told them, 'I will not leave you comfortless; I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter.'

Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such an one, then have we found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.

But this is not all: for Moses adds, 'And it shall come

to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.' The Jews rejected Christ, and God rejected them, and gave them up to destruction; and as their offence against the Messias, and their behaviour after his death, was wicked beyond measure and beyond example, so God fulfilled the prophecies of Moses concerning them, that he would require it of them, and that he would make their plagues wonderful, would bring upon them calamities beyond measure and beyond example.

It may be observed, that a person can be produced who was very like to Moses, namely, Bacchus, who was an Ægyptian god. Huetius, in his Demonstratio Evangelica[n], has, with much accuracy and learning, drawn up the comparison; and the resemblance is so great in so many particulars, that it cannot be supposed accidental: but then, first, Bacchus is a poetical deity, and the accounts of him are taken from fabulous history; secondly, many of the actions of the Jewish legislator were, in all probability, ascribed to him, and he is Moses[o] in disguise: so the parallel ceases.

The œconomy of the Jewish and of the Christian church is similar, in many respects, and upon the whole, though in smaller occurrences the resemblance ought not to be too much urged: for so any thing may be made of any thing.

The parallel between Moses and Christ has been ex-

[n] A book which has its use and value, but is more remarkable for erudition than for reasoning; which made a French writer say of it, in the words of Terence,

'——ut te, cum tua
Monstratione, magnus perdat Jupiter!'

[o] The Ægyptians, as Herodotus tells us, ii. 42. had a story concerning their god Hercules: Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπεί τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προέχεσθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἐωϋτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. 'Quod Jupiter, quum ab Hercule, eum cernere volente, cerni nollet; tandem, quia orando instabat Hercules, hoc commentus sit, ut, amputato arietis capite, pelleque villosa, quam illi detraxerat, induta sibi, ita sese Herculi ostenderit.'

This Hercules seems to have been Moses, who said to God, 'I beseech thee, show me thy glory. And he said, Thou canst not see my face,' &c. Exod. xxxiii.

amined, in which we are authorised to seek and to expect a strong resemblance, both from the Old Testament, which declares that a prophet should arise like unto Moses; and from the New, which declares that Christ was that prophet. It deserves consideration, whether this consequence may be deduced; that, if Moses were a type of Christ, the people whom he delivered and conducted may be a type of the people to whom Christ was sent, and of the church which he established.

If this should be admitted as a probability (and it should not be offered as any thing more than conjectural), we may say that the generation which fell in the wilderness represents the Jews who rejected Christ, and perished for their disobedience.

The land of promise and of rest was a symbol of the church of Christ.

The idolatry and iniquities of the Jewish nation are too exactly paralleled by the corruption which overspread the Christian church.

Many other resemblances might be pointed out which shall be omitted, since we cannot make it sufficiently evident that they were not accidental.

The destruction of Jerusalem, and that *second* coming of the Son of man to take vengeance of his foes, may perhaps prefigure the destruction of antichristian tyranny, and the manifestation of Christ, that is, of his power and spirit; and then may commence a better and happier æra, and such a renovation as may be called 'New heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

'The correspondencies of types and antitypes, though they be not themselves proper proofs of the truth of a doctrine, yet they may be very reasonable confirmations of the foreknowledge of God; of the uniform view of Providence under different dispensations; of the analogy, harmony, and agreement between the Old Testament and the New. The words in the law concerning one particular kind of death, *He that is hanged is accursed of God*, can hardly be conceived to have been put in upon any other account than with a view and foresight of the application made of it by St. Paul. The analogies between the *paschal lamb* and the *Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world*;

between the *Ægyptian bondage*, and the *tyranny of sin*; between the *baptism of the Israelites in the sea and in the cloud*, and the *baptism of Christians*; between the *passage* through the *wilderness*, and through the *present world*; between Jesus [Joshua] bringing the people into the *promised land*, *and* Jesus Christ *being the captain of salvation* to believers; between the sabbath of *rest* promised to *the people of God* in the earthly *Canaan*, and the eternal *rest* promised in the *heavenly Canaan*; between the liberty granted from the time of the *death of the high-priest*, to him that had fled into a *city of refuge*, and the *redemption* purchased by the *death of Christ*; between the *high-priest entering into the holy place every year with the blood of others*, and Christ's *once entering with his own blood into heaven itself, to appear in the presence of God for us*: these, I say, and innumerable other analogies, between the *shadows of things to come*, *of good things to come*, the *shadows of heavenly things*, the *figures for the time then present*, *patterns of things in the heavens*, and *the heavenly things themselves*; cannot, without the force of strong prejudice, be conceived to have happened by mere chance, without any foresight or design. There are no such analogies, much less such series of analogies, found in the books of mere enthusiastic writers living in such remote ages from each other. It is much more credible, and reasonable to suppose, what St. Paul affirms, that *these things were our examples*; and that, in the uniform course of God's government of the world, *all these things happened unto them of old for examples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.* And hence arises that aptness of similitude in the application of several legal performances to the morality of the Gospel, that it can very hardly be supposed not to have been originally intended.' Clarke's Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig.

THE remaining part of this book shall contain remarks on the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, the Sibylline Oracles, and some passages from antient poets cited by the Fathers, the works of Barnabas and of Hermas, the Recognitions of Clemens, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Epistles of Ignatius, &c.

AMONGST the antient Christian books which claim our attention are the Apostolical Constitutions, which, if they be genuine, are a sacred treatise, and of equal authority with the New Testament; and, if they be not genuine, are an infamous imposture, for which the forger well deserved the punishment inflicted by the Roman laws on the *falsarii*. Digest. l. xlviii. tit. x. 1.

The authors of them are, it is pretended, the twelve apostles and St. Paul gathered together, with Clemens their amanuensis.

If their authority should appear only ambiguous, it would be our duty to reject them, lest we should adopt as divine doctrines 'the commandments of men:' for, since each Gospel contains the main parts of Christianity, and might be sufficient 'to make men wise unto salvation,' there is less danger in diminishing than in enlarging the number of canonical books; and less evil would have ensued from the loss of one of the four Gospels, than from the addition of a fifth and spurious one.

But the Constitutions are a medley of old treatises jumbled together, enlarged and adulterated, without much wit or judgment, by some compiler after the days of Constantine.

And yet they have their value, and may be useful on many accounts, and contain several things of antiquity relating to the doctrine and discipline of the church, and extracts from old liturgies, though the whole be so blended with insertions of a later date, that it is now beyond human skill to make the separation with any certainty.

I offered some remarks upon them in Disc. vi. on the Christ. Rel. and I shall here add a few more.

They have a chapter Περὶ Χαρισμάτων, in which they observe, that the word Χάρισμα means either the gift of working miracles, or the gift of spiritual and Christian graces; that the first is conferred on some, the second on all true Christians; and that miraculous powers are not so much for the use of Christians, as for the sake and for the conviction of unbelievers. viii. 1. Baptism also and the Lord's Supper are sometimes called Χαρίσματα. Ignatius saw Polycarp at Smyrna—καὶ πνευματικῶν αὐτῷ κοινωνήσας χαρισμάτων—'et quum eum spiritualium charismatum par-

ticipem fecisset—'Martyr. Ignat. § iii. Πνευματικὰ χαρίσματα videntur hic significare symbola eucharistica. Certe baptisma non raro apud veteres vocatur χάρισμα. Clericus.

In the form for the ordination of presbyters, they pray that the presbyter may have the *gift* of *healing* conferred upon him—ὅπως πλησθεὶς ἐνεργημάτων ἰατικῶν, καὶ λόγου διδακτικοῦ, ἐν πραότητι παιδεύῃ σου τὸν λαόν'—'ut repletus operationibus vim sanandi habentibus, ac sermone ad docendum apto, erudiat cum mansuetudine populum tuum.' viii. 16. Taken, I suppose, from 1 Cor. xii. 9. ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων.

They introduce the apostles, one or all, sometimes speaking and commanding in their own names, and sometimes citing the New Testament as we now cite it. This single observation is sufficient to overset the book. 'Jesus Christ,' say they, 'began to *do* before he began to *teach*,' ὡς ποῦ λέγει ὁ Λουκᾶς· Ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν. 'This is wanting in one of the MSS.' says Le Clerc, 'and seems to have been struck out by some critic, who thought it wrong to introduce the apostles citing the testimony of Luke.' But it signified nothing to strike out one passage whilst five hundred of the same kind were left. Besides, it was all in vain, because, though the citation here were taken away, the allusion to it would remain. ii. 6.

They repeat it over and over, lest Christians should chance to forget it, that a bishop is a god, a god upon earth, and a king, and infinitely superior to a king, and ruling over rulers and kings. They command Christians to give him tribute as to a king, and to reverence him as a god, and to pay him tithes and first-fruits, according, say they, to God's command; and they strictly forbid Christians to make any inquiry, and to take any notice, whether he disposes of these revenues well or ill, ii. 11. 26. 35. *et passim:* which seems to have been drawn up at a time when there were Christian emperors. Here is strange language indeed! even far beyond all *eminencies* and *holinesses*.

Le Clerc had a suspicion that Leontius, an Arian bishop of the fourth century, was the inventor or the interpolator of the Constitutions. Le Clerc received the hint from Thomas Bruno, who was a learned and ingenious man,

and a canon of Windsor in the days of Charles II. The learned Isaac Vossius, who also was canon of Windsor, dedicated to him his book De Sibyllinis Oraculis. Bruno conjectured that Leontius might be the collector of the greater part of the Apostolical Canons, and says many things in favour of Leontius. Speaking of the religious controversies in the time of Constantius, which were not very edifying, he says: 'Et certe præter unum Athanasium inter orthodoxos, et Leontium inter Arianos, vix ullos reperias homines quadratos, dictis, factis, formulis suis Fidei stantes; sed potius versipelles, chamæleontes, nunc in hanc nunc in illam partem paratos, prout ferebat animus τῶν παραδυναστευόντων apud imperatorem; qui vel eunuchos imperatorios opibus ecclesiæ et nummis, vel mulierculas ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι sermonum lenociniis et blanditiis pelliciebant in partes suas, omniaque pro libitu suo agebant, ferebant, cæteris majore ex parte, more pecudum, non qua eundum erat, sed qua ibatur, prospicientibus,' &c. Judic. de Canon. in the second volume of the Patres Apostolici.

It is certain that Leontius carried his head high enough. He reprimanded the emperor Constantius for meddling in ecclesiastical affairs; and sent word to the empress Eusebia, who is said to have been haughty, that he would not comply with her request, and pay her a visit, unless she would promise to bow down before him and receive his blessing, and then to stand up, whilst he sat, till he should give her leave to sit down; which put the lady into a violent rage. See Tillemont Hist. des Emp. iii. 381. or Le Clerc Dissert. de Constit. in the Patr. Apost.

I know not whether Leontius learned from the Jews to take this state upon him. Their rabbins say that the high-priest never went to court but when he had a mind, and that then he sat before the king, and the king stood up in his presence. See Basnage Hist. des Juifs, i. 4.

It is, I believe, labour lost to inquire who the compiler was: we can only say of this pretended Clemens, that he was long-lived; and if any one should ever compile a book De Macrobiis, or De Incredibilibus, like those of Phlegon and Palæphatus, he ought to take notice of our author, for he flourished in the first, second, third, and fourth centuries. It is no wonder, therefore, if his memory failed him some-

times, and if he fell into some small mistakes. But there have been two men, since the Christian æra, who in length of days greatly surpassed him: Josephus Ben Gorion, who, according to his own chronology, lived to be a thousand years old; and the *Wandering Jew*, who was seen by an Armenian bishop five hundred years ago, and is supposed to be still alive, and pursuing his travels.

The Constitutions confirm many frivolous precepts by texts of Scripture, which in these critical days would be thought inconclusive. For example: 'A vintner's money must not be accepted by the bishop.' Why? Because Isaias, i. 22. according to the LXX, says, 'Thy vintners mix wine with water.' iv. 6. But it would be endless to produce their misinterpreted and misapplied citations of Scripture, both canonical and apocryphal.

The antiquity of Solomon's Song is sufficiently established by the Hebrew original, and by the version of the LXX; and it is mentioned in the seventy-sixth apostolical canon. It has been observed, that it is never cited in the New Testament. It is mentioned as a book of the Old Testament by Melito, in Eusebius E. H. iv. 26. and Hippolytus and Origen wrote commentaries upon it: whether any Christian before them has cited it I know not. A writer, whom I need not mention, is for uncanonizing it: but there is nothing new under the sun; Theodorus Mopsuestenus was of the same mind, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was a learned bishop, a bold critic, and an enemy to allegorical interpretations. Leontius of Jerusalem finds great fault with him, and says, 'Imo et sanctorum sanctissimum Canticum canticorum ab omnibus divinarum rerum peritis et ab omnibus ecclesiis cuncti orbis notum, et a Judæis inimicis crucis Christi in admiratione habitum, libidinose pro suâ et mente et linguâ meretriciâ interpretans, sua supra modum incredibili audaciâ ex libris sacris abscidit.' It seems, Theodorus took the *spouse* in that book to be one of Solomon's queens. See Fabricius Bibl. Gr. ix. 159.

This Theodorus and Origen are looked upon as the fathers of a doctrine which, in the fifth century, was called Pelagianism, or Semi-pelagianism. Cardinal Noris charges them with it in his Historia Pelagiana; and I verily believe that he does them no great wrong, and that they had notions

entirely different from those of Augustin and of Jansenius, about predestination; and that the arguments of the bishop of Hippo, or of the bishop of Ypres, would have converted neither the one nor the other.

The Anti-Jansenists of the church of Rome condemn the predestinarian doctrines of Luther, and Calvin, and Jansenius, but excuse Augustin, and pretend to agree with this Latin father, whilst they plainly reject his notions. They are not so ingenuous as the monk, who being pressed with an argument taken from St. Paul, replied, that 'St. Paul might as well have refrained from saying some things which smelt of the faggot.'

Chardin tells us, that the sublimest and best esteemed poetry among the Persians is that which sets out religious subjects in the phrase of libertines. Whether this be applicable to Solomon's Song, I will not take upon me to determine. There are also many passages in the Old, and some in the New Testament, where things spiritual are couched under phrases, which the reserved modesty of modern language will hardly permit us to illustrate.

The Constitutions, however, twice allude to Solomon's Song; and they seem to have borrowed the allusions from the *larger* Epistles of Ignatius.

Heretics, say they, are ἀλωπέκων μερίδες καὶ χαμαιζήλων ἀμπελώνων ἀφανισταί· 'vulpium partes, et vinearum humiliorum vastatores.' vi. 13.

And again: τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ διαφθείροντες, ὡς ἀλώπεκες μικροὶ ἀμπελῶνα· 'qui ecclesiam Dei devastant, sicut parvæ vulpes vineam.' vi. 18.

Ignatius, Epist. Interpol. ad Philad. iii. ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορεὺς ἀμπελῶνος Χριστοῦ· 'est vulpes corruptrix vineæ Christi.'

Cantic. ii. 15. Πιάσατε ἡμῖν ἀλώπεκας μικρούς ἀφανίζοντας ἀμπελῶνας. 'Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines.'

So, according to the Constitutions and the *interpolated* Ignatius, the heretics are 'the little foxes who spoil the vineyards.' I blame not the allusion; it is pretty enough, and better than the remark of a commentator, whom I will not name, who explaining 1 Kings x. 22. 'Once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks,' says, that by the *apes* we are to

understand *heretics*[p]. He bears somewhat hard upon the poor ape, who is an occasional conformist, and an imitator of his betters. What will they say to this allusion who reject Solomon's Song, and yet receive the Constitutions, and the larger Epistles of Ignatius?

But it would not be fair to conceal a passage in Theocritus, i. 48.

—ἀμφὶ δέ μιν δυ' ἀλώπεκες· ἃ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως
Φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον.

'—quem circum duæ vulpes: altera per ordines vitium
Incedit, lædens maturas uvas.'

And v. 112.

Μισέω τὰς δασυκέρκος ἀλώπεκας, αἳ τὰ Μίκωνος
Αἰεὶ φοιτῶσαι τὰ ποθέσπερα ῥαγίζοντι·

'Odi densicaudes vulpes, quæ vites Miconis
Semper frequentantes, vesperi ex illis uvas comedunt:'

for here also are 'foxes spoiling the vineyards;' and who knows but somebody may take it into his head to say that the Constitutions and Ignatius borrowed the hint from the poet?

This *interpolated* Ignatius cites the Canticles as a sacred book, Ad Ephes. xvii. Μῦρον γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου· Διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε, εἵλκυσάν σε, ὀπίσω εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρων σου δραμούμεθα. 'Unguentum enim,' inquit, 'effusum est nomen tuum: propterea adolescentulæ dilexerunt te, traxerunt te, post te in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus.' From Cant. i. 3, 4.

It seems to appear from the Constitutions, that the curing of dæmoniacs was a work of time, and that the attempt did not always succeed: for the congregation is made to consist of the clergy, the catechumens, the energumens or dæmoniacs, the Φωτιζόμενοι, or those who were preparing to receive baptism, the penitents, and the faithful;

[p] He might as well as have said, since he would allegorize, that the *apes* are *informers* and *back-biters*; for the bite of an ape is reckoned dangerous, and so is the bite of a sycophant. Δῆγμα συκοφάντου is mentioned as incurable by Aristophanes, Plut. 886.

there is a form of prayer for the energumens, that God would deliver them, viii. 7; and it is said that a dæmoniac may be instructed in the faith, but shall not be received to Christian communion before he be cleansed, unless he be in danger of dying, viii. 32. In a prayer for all mankind there is a petition for the dæmoniacs—ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου—ὅπως καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ—'pro iis qui ab adversario jactantur—ut eos mundes a vexatione mali.' viii. 12. Ἐάν τις δαίμονα ἔχῃ, κληρικὸς μὴ γινέσθω, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς πιστοῖς συνευχέσθω. καθαρισθεὶς δὲ, προσδεχέσθω, καὶ ἐὰν ᾖ ἄξιος, γινέσθω. 'Si quis dæmonem habeat, ne fiat clericus, sed nec una cum fidelibus oret: cum autem purgatus fuerit, recipiatur, et, si dignus extiterit, clericus fiat.' Canon lxx.

Is it not probable that the antient Christians accounted mad, and melancholy, and epileptic people to be possessed, at least, for the most part? which would greatly increase the number of dæmoniacs. The Jews seem to have received some additional notions, concerning evil spirits and their operations, from the Chaldæans; and, after their return from the captivity, to have ascribed many diseases and disorders to these invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural causes; and in this the antient Christians followed them.

Lightfoot says, 'Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos quosdam graviores, eos præsertim, quibus distortum erat corpus, vel mens turbata et agitata phrenesi, malis spiritibus attribuere.' Hor. Hebr. Hence those swarms of energumens and exorcists mentioned in ecclesiastical history.

The Constitutions perhaps command, but most certainly permit, infant-baptism. Βαπτίζετε δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Θεοῦ· 'but baptize even (or also) your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God;' which shows that infant-baptism was practised when this book was written. There is no eluding this testimony; it signifies nothing to say that νήπιον is a word which may be extended beyond infancy, to thirteen or fifteen years: for, first, Christian education and instruction is mentioned as subsequent to baptism; secondly, in general precepts, the obvious and usual signification of the words is to be supposed the intention of the lawgiver; thirdly,

it is plain to the last degree that the word νήπιος, or νήπιον, will not exclude infants of a day old:

'Ut contra si quis sentiat, nihil sentiat;'

fourthly, the sentence is partly borrowed from Ephes. vi. 4. μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου· but instead of τέκνα, νήπια is used, as denoting a more tender age. In the prayer for the faithful, a petition is offered up for Christian infants. τῶν νηπίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας μνημονεύσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος, τελειώσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγάγῃ. 'Infantium ecclesiæ recordemur, uti Dominus eos in timore sui reddat perfectos, et ad mensuram ætatis perducat.' viii. 10. τὰ νήπια ἄδρυνον· 'infantes ad maturam ætatem perduc.' viii. 15. Will any man be so unreasonable as to contend that νήπια here does not include *babes*; and that infants before they could walk and speak were excluded from the benefit and intention of these prayers?

Thus infant-baptism may be proved by the Constitutions; but at the same time the silence of the Scriptures upon this subject, compared with the clear declarations of the Constitutions, shows that these were drawn up after the apostolical age. vi. 15.

It is observable, however, that viii. 32. where directions are given who shall be admitted to baptism, no mention is made of infants.

The Constitutions make the validity of baptism to depend upon a certain form of invocation; and they seem to make it depend also upon the piety of the priest: which is a hard case.

In the ceremonial of baptism, when the person is anointed, there is a form of prayer to be used; for, say they, ἐὰν μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς. 'Nisi in unumquodque eorum talis quæpiam invocatio a pio sacerdote adhibeatur, qui baptizatur in aquam tantum descendit, ut Judæi, et corporis tantum sordes, non autem animæ, deponit.' Where Cotelerius says, 'Loquitur de baptismate ordinario adultorum, quod nisi sedulo ac rite juxta totam cærimoniam tra-

datur a pio sacerdote, et suscipiatur a pio catechumeno, animæ sordes non depellit, nec suum obtinet effectum.'

In the middle of the third century, great disputes arose concerning rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. The Constitutions and Canons determine that the baptism administered by heretics is invalid and null, vi. 15. which was the doctrine of Cyprian. In this controversy no appeal was made to the Constitutions. vii. 44.

The Constitutions represent adultery as a crime which was punished with death. Εἴ τις ἀδελφὸν λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πονηροῦ κακοποιήσῃ, καὶ ἐλεγχθεὶς κατακριθῇ θανάτῳ ὡς μοιχὸς, ἢ φονεύς, χωρίζεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. 'Si quis se fratrem esse dicens, Diaboli fraude maleficium commiserit, convictusque ad mortem damnatus fuerit, tanquam adulter, aut homicida, digredimini ab illo.' v. 2.

Constantine made a law to punish adultery with death; and before his time it had not been a capital crime, in that sense, in the Roman empire. The 'lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis' is discussed in Digest. l. xlviii. tit. 5.; but we are not clearly informed there what was the punishment. It seems to have been *relegatio*, a kind of banishment. See Tacitus Ann. ii. 50, and the notes of Vertranius and Lipsius; Ann. iv. 42, and the Excursus of Lipsius, and Novell. cxxxiv. 10. and a treatise of Gerard Noodt, called 'Diocletianus et Maximianus, sive De transactione et pactione criminum.'

In some cases, however, the father and the husband had a right to kill the guilty person surprised in the crime.

I mention not this as an unanswerable objection to the Constitutions, since death might have been the punishment of adultery in some places long before the law of Constanstine, and since the adulterous Christian might be no Roman citizen.

The best parts of the Constitutions are some of the prayers, taken probably from old liturgies.

The Hellenistic language, as it is called, has been mentioned as a confirmation of the Constitutions. Now this Hellenistic style is nothing more than the style of one who translates a Hebrew book verbally into Greek, or who thinks in Hebrew and writes in Greek. Suppose any person at any time, whose native language is Greek, who is a Chris-

tian, who reads few or no profane authors, who never studied his own tongue, who has frequently perused the Septuagint and the New Testament, and has them almost by heart, who writes upon a religious subject, who is perpetually citing the Scriptures; this person will write in the Hellenistic manner, more or less, and will have Hebrew idioms, even though he should not understand one word of the language, especially if he have a mind to affect that style, which is very easily imitated.

My friend Mr. Wasse, if I remember rightly, used to say that the style of the Constitutions was Hellenistic. Be this as it will, there are in them abundance of words and phrases never used by the writers of the New Testament, though they afterwards appear in ecclesiastical authors; and some which are not at all in the old Christian style: as for example, ὁ θεῖος Μωσῆς, which seems polite and Pagan, rather than apostolical. vi. 25. The scribbler who is called Dionysius the Areopagite has the same expression, γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος. De Div. Nomin. And so the Clementina Epitome, ὁ θεῖος Κλήμης, § 157. Ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, says Clemens Alex. speaking of St. Paul, i. p. 287, 602. but he is a learned writer, and borrows a thousand phrases from Pagans.

The Constitutions say that the Jews crucified malefactors, ii. 48. which is not true. See Le Clerc's Hammond on John xviii. 31. and Grotius on Galat. iii. 13.

They say that Herod ordered Christ to be crucified; which is a mistake. v. 19.

They say that Moses forbad the Jews to read the law out of the borders of their own country; which prohibition is not to be found. vi. 25.

They order widows to stay at home, to be grave, &c. and then they censure those who ramble about, and are busy bodies, and idle talkers; and call them μὴ χήρας ἀλλὰ πήρας, 'not widows, but beggars' wallets,' ἑτοίμους εἰς τὸ λαμβάνειν, 'ever ready to receive.' But the beauty of the original is lost in the translation, because the words are nearly alike in sound, and different in sense: so that the jingle cannot be preserved. It is as if we should say in English,—such widows behave themselves not *godly* but *odly*. iii. 6.

They say that a rich covetous man is like a dragon guarding a treasure; which emblem is borrowed from those profane authors whom they forbid Christians to read. iv. 4.

> 'Vulpis cubile fodiens, dum terram eruit,—
> Pervenit ad draconis speluncam ultimam,
> Custodiebat qui thesauros abditos.'
>
> Phædrus iv. 19.

> 'Largiris nihil, incubasque gazæ,
> Ut magnus draco, quem canunt pœtæ
> Custodem Scythici fuisse luci.'
>
> Martial. xii. 53.

They teach the resurrection of the same *numerical* body; a doctrine concerning which the Scriptures are certainly silent. v. 7.

They are heretics, say they, who make the Father, Son, and holy Spirit to be one and the same person, and Jesus to be τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν. This is supposed to be levelled against Simon Magus; but it is much more probable that it is against the Sabellians. vi. 26.

Having ordered Christians to honour the martyrs, they caution them not to honour false martyrs. If by ψευδομάρτυρες they only meant persons who perjured themselves and bare false witness, as their citations may seem to imply, the caution was extremely ridiculous; but it is more probable that they meant either schismatics, or unfortunate men, mistaken in some points of faith, whom they would not allow to be martyrs, though they died for the name of Christ, and though they might have lived, if they would have renounced him: such, for example, as the Novatians. v. 9.

They make St. John say, 'I got up,' ἀναστὰς ἐγὼ, 'and leaning upon Christ's breast, I asked him,' &c. As they reclined on couches before the table, St. John was seated the next below his master, so that the back of his head was against the breast of Christ. He had therefore no occasion to get up, but only to raise himself, and turn his head a little, when he spake to Christ. v. 14.

They make St. John affirm, that σὺ εἶπας, 'thou hast said,' is not the same as *yes*. v. 14.

They take much from the Epistle of Barnabas; for it is improbable that Barnabas should plunder them, and never own or hint the obligation. Now Barnabas wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem.

They say at the end of a prayer, 'Gather us into thy kingdom.' Αὖτη μαρανάθά. i. e. 'Hæc venit Dominus,' which is little to the purpose: consult the notes there. In the same prayer they say, ὁ δυνατὸς Θεὸς, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς, καὶ ἀψευδὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· which looks as if it were taken from Polycarp's prayer—ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς. p. 201. ed. Cler. vii. 26.

The invocation after the Communion begins thus: Δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς—ὁ καὶ τῶν σιωπώντων ἐπιστάμενος τὰς ἐντεύξεις. 'Domine Deus—cognitor precum etiam eorum qui tacent.' The expression is elegant and noble, but it seems to be taken from an old Delphic oracle in Herodotus, i. 47. viii. 15.

Καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.

'Mutum percipio, fantis nihil audio vocem.'

They insert in a prayer, 'The holy angels say to thee,' εἷς ἅγιος τῷ Φελμονεί. It is taken from Daniel, viii. 13. Καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἁγίου λαλοῦντος· καὶ εἶπεν εἷς ἅγιος τῷ Φελμωνὶ τῷ λαλοῦντι· ἕως πότε, &c.

As it is introduced in the Constitutions, it is neither better nor worse than gibberish; and he who put it in did not understand it. vii. 35.

They say that the *golden calf* was the Ægyptian Apis; and so says the author of the Recognitions, i. 35. which, if true, was yet more than they could certainly know, unless we should grant them to have had it by inspiration. i. 6. vi. 20.

They relate Peter's combat with Simon, in which he shot the magician flying, and brought him down to the ground. The false Hegesippus, and one Abdias, in his Historia Apostolica, confirm it likewise. So we have no less than three witnesses for it; but they are

'Sardi venales, alius alio nequior.'

The first author, fit to be named, who speaks of it, is Arnobius, and he comes too late. Cotelerius, in his notes

on the Constitutions, very honestly declares himself to be a doubter, and gives the reader leave to reject the story: but Tillemont is not so indulgent, and comes upon us with a formidable list of vouchers: 'Quand il seroit vray que cette histoire seroit une fiction, nous aimerions mieux, tant qu'on n'aura point de preuve claire et convaincante de sa fausseté, nous tromper en ce point avec Arnobe, S. Cyrille de Jerusalem, les legats du Pape Libere, S. Ambroise, S. Augustin, S. Isidore de Peluse, S. Theodoret, et plusieurs autres, que d'estre obligez d'accuser d'une credulité indiscrete un grand nombre des plus illustres maitres de l'Eglise Latine et Greque.' Hist. Eccl. i. p. 178.

He who will believe all that he finds related by the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries should be provided with a double portion of credulity, and have the stomach of an ostrich to digest fables. But the fathers here mentioned were not the inventors of this *combat*; they stand clear of such a charge, and are only to be blamed for paying too much regard to traditionary reports, or to some fabulous author[p]. One would think that the silence of the fathers before Arnobius were alone a sufficient reason to reject this story, and particularly the silence of Eusebius, who wrote after Arnobius; and their silence shows, at the same time, that they knew nothing, or believed nothing, of the Constitutions.

Let it be observed, to the honour of Eusebius, that of all the antient ecclesiastical historians, he has obtruded the least trash upon his readers; and that he has also shut out from the scriptures of the New Testament all spurious, dubious, and apocryphal authors, all apostles falsely so called; whom he served as Jupiter did Vulcan,—

[q] Ῥίψε, ποδὸς τεταγών, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.

ii. 14. vi. 9.

The Constitutions call the name of Christ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινὸν—from Isaiah lxii. 2. which yet looks also like an al-

[p] Leucius was, in all probability, the inventor of this lie, as Beausobre conjectures, Hist. de Man. i. 396.

[q] 'Hurl'd headlong tumbling from th' ethereal sky.'

lusion to Revel. ii. 17. ὄνομα καινόν. iii. 12.—τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν· and they say that the church of Christ is νύμφη κεκαλλωπισμένη Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, perhaps from Revel. xxi. 2. ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. And yet the seventy-sixth Apostolical Canon mentions not the Revelation amongst the books of the New Testament. ii. 15. 25. The same Canon ascribes to St. Paul the Epistle to the Hebrews.

They say that *tithes* are due to the clergy, because Ἰῶτα, which stands for ten, is the first letter of the name of Jesus. Many of the clergy would be in a poor condition, if they had no better claim to them. ii. 25.

They give an interpretation of the proper name Israel, concerning which see the notes. vii. 36.

They abound with citations of the Scriptures; and are remarkable for an exuberant profusion of words, and a most tiresome repetition of the same things; which shows that, in all probability, they are not one man's invention, but a medley.

They not only heap passages of Scripture one upon another, but where the thing might have been alluded to in three words, they transcribe whole pages:—*aliter non fit liber.*

After having censured all the other Jewish sects, they give the Essenes a good character, οἱ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἑαυτοὺς χωρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσοντες, εἰσὶν Ἐσσαῖοι. 'Qui vero ab iis omnibus separarunt se, ac patrios ritus servant, Essæi sunt. vi. 6.

When the Jews were returned from Babylon, and before the coming of Christ, three sects arose amongst them, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes; of which, though none were good, the Sadducees were the worst, the Pharisees the best, and the Essenes superstitious fanatics.

The Sadducees were of opinion that they neither wanted nor received any divine assistance for the performance of their duty; that the rewards and the punishments which God had denounced were only temporal; that there were neither angels nor spirits, nor resurrection nor future state, but that the whole man perished at death. It has been supposed, but not sufficiently proved, that they rejected not only the traditions of the elders, but the writings of the

prophets[r], and all the sacred books, except the law: so thought Jerom, and many of the fathers.

Our Saviour proved a future state to the Sadducees from a text in the books of Moses, where God is called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after they were dead. Hence it has been inferred, that the Sadducees rejected the prophets; else, say they, Christ would have appealed to the prophets, who teach this doctrine more fully. But why so? From the words of Moses, cited by our Saviour, the doctrine of a future state may as clearly be deduced as from any one single text which can be produced out of any one of the prophets. The Sadducees might pay a greater regard to Moses than to the other prophets, and yet not reject them neither. Besides, as the Sadducees, in their discourse with Christ, raised an objection to another state from a passage in Moses, Christ chose to answer them from the same author. 'Hoc fundamento usi sunt Sadducæi, nullum articulum fidei admittendum esse, qui non ex libris Mosaicis probari posset. Reliquos autem Scripturæ libros ipsi legebant, et ita interpretabantur, ut fundamento suo contradicere non viderentur.' Pearson Vindic. Ignat. c. 7. Basnage is of the same opinion, Hist. des Juifs, ii. 6. 'Tota religio consistit in libris Mosis: in cæteris nullum fidei seu legis dogma statuitur,' says Orobius; who yet was no Sadducee, but rather, like most of his brethren, a follower of the Pharisees.

The greatest sect of the Jews was that of the Pharisees, and in many respects it seems to have been the best also. The Constitutions charge them with fatalism, and so doth Epiphanius, and some other antients; a charge which perhaps they could not have made good. They ought rather to have ascribed this notion to the Essenes; for the Essenes were strict predestinarians: but the Pharisees, like the Semi-Pelagians, thought that divine assistance and human liberty co-operated and were reconcileable. So says Josephus[s], who was better acquainted with them than the obscure author of

[r] When Josephus says, that the Sadducees observed nothing besides *the laws*, he seems to oppose the *written laws* to the *traditions* only, not to the *prophets*. See Antiq. XIII. x. 6. XVIII. i. 4. edit. Havere.

[s] B. J. II. viii. 14. Antiq. XIII. v. 9. XVIII. i. 3. 'The Pharisees,' says Prideaux, 'held a free-will in conjunction with predestination.'

the Constitutions. The principal fault, in point of doctrine, belonging to the Pharisees was a zeal for the traditions of the elders; and though this unwritten law was, as we may well suppose, a heap of lies, nonsense, and superstition, they paid more regard to it than to the word of God.

But, if we consider the ignorance and corruption which then prevailed amongst the Jews, we must acknowledge that the Pharisees and their disciples were by no means the worst part of the nation.

St. Paul bears them this testimony: 'According to the straitest (the exactest) sect of our religion,' says he, 'I lived a Pharisee.'

Our Saviour declares concerning them: 'The Scribes and Pharisees[t] sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe and do, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not.'

In many places of Scripture, where it is said, Do this, but do not that; or, This shall be, but that shall not be; the words are to be understood, not absolutely, but comparatively: so that the meaning here may be; Of the two, it is better and safer to do what the Scribes[v] and Pharisees teach than what they do; for their doctrine, even such as it is, is preferable to their practice; and particularly when they interpret the precepts of Moses, that is, the written law, not the oral law, and the traditions of the elders.

The Pharisees asserted the soul's immortality, and a life to come. In this they deserved some praise when compared with the Sadducees, who rejected these doctrines. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this belief, though mixed with erroneous notions, might have an influence upon their behaviour, and make them in some respects and upon some occasions better than those who thought that the soul and body perished together.

To this belief and this disbelief of a future state may perhaps be ascribed the different behaviour of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees after the ascension of our Lord: for then

[t] Matt. xxiii. 2.

[v] The Scribes and Pharisees: that is, says a learned friend of mine, the *Scribes*, who were so by their profession, and were *Pharisees* by their sect. The *Pharisees*, as *Pharisees*, did not sit in the seat of Moses: the *Scribes* did, whether Pharisees or not.

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the resurrection of Christ, and the general resurrection of the dead, and a day of judgment and retribution, was constantly and particularly taught by the apostles; and therefore the Sadducees were their opposers and persecutors, whilst the Pharisees were more inclined to protect them and side with them; and many of the first Jewish converts to Christianity seem to have consisted of this sect.

But as Christ during his ministry often preached against the traditions of the Pharisees, and denounced woes against them, they were his chief adversaries.

It may be asked, why Christ did not more frequently censure the faults and errors of the Sadducees, who were worse than the Pharisees? One reason seems to have been this, that the Pharisees were the most numerous and the most learned sect, and had the greatest influence over the common people; therefore it was most expedient that the reformation should begin amongst them, and that their followers and admirers should be undeceived, and cautioned not to repose too great a confidence in them.

Another reason was, because the peculiar defects of that sect soon crept into Christianity, and remain in it to this day; but the Sadducees[w] were a sect which declined and came to nothing, or to very little, after the destruction of Jerusalem. Most of the Sadducees who escaped that calamity probably became apostates and Pagans, a change for which they were too well prepared; and most of the Jews at this time are of the sect of the Pharisees.

The bad character which is given in the Scriptures of the Pharisees, ought not to be extended to all who were of that party. It is enough if the majority of them, if the most eminent in authority, were very wicked. There were without question several among them mistaken in many things, and carried into faults by the prevailing notions of the sect, yet men of sincerity, and of virtuous dispositions.

'Notre Seigneur a témoigné plus de mépris contre les Pharisiens que contre les Sadducéens. C'est aux Pharisiens qu'il en veut en tout et par tout, c'est contre eux qu'il lance ses plus séveres censures, c'est eux qu'il tâche de

[w] Justin indeed mentions the Sadducees in his Dial. with Trypho. See Basnage Hist. des Juifs, ii. 7.

décrier. Pourquoi cela? C'est qu'encore qu'ils fussent plus orthodoxes, ils avoient le cœur plus gâté d'hypocrisie et d'orgueil, ce qui les rendoit plus incapables de se convertir à l'Évangile.' Bayle Pensées diverses, § 186. I think the reasons which I have assigned are more probable than these.

As to the Essenes, who are said in the Constitutions to have adhered to the religious rites and customs of their ancestors, and who are never mentioned by the sacred writers, it is well known that they neglected some ceremonial laws, and that they observed many foolish austerities, many fantastical and superstitious institutions of their own. Thus, for example, they accounted it a heinous crime to ease nature on the sabbath-day, as Josephus testifies; who should also have informed us what they did in cases of urgent necessity, which will sometimes happen. As the Sabbatic River, mentioned by Josephus, B. J. vii. 5. was dry for six days, and flowed plentifully on the seventh; so, on the contrary, the Essenes were open for six days, and shut on the seventh. But some of the learned think that this marvellous and most religious river flowed at other times, and rested on the sabbath, and that there is a fault in the text of Josephus: see the notes there. If so, the parallel is better between the 'Fluvius Sabbaticus' and the 'Podex Sabbaticus.'

The Essenes, says Josephus, on the sabbath-day οὐδὲ σκεῦός τι μετακινῆσαι θαρροῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν· 'neque vas ullum loco movere audent, nec alvum exonerare.' B. J. ii. 8.

Porphyry says of them, Τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ λιτότης ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ ἡ ὀλιγότης, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑβδομάδι μὴ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως, ἣν τηρεῖν εἰώθασιν εἰς ὕμνους τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν. 'Et quidem tanta ipsorum est in victu frugalitas, atque parcimonia, ut ne septimana quidem integra egerendi sit ulla necessitas: quam sibi abstinentiæ legem dixere, partim ut ad hymnos Deo concinendos aptiores sint, partim ut faciliori utantur somno.' Apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 3.

Vigerus, the translator, though he was a learned man, fell into an absence of mind which will sometimes happen to us all, and did not perceive that ἑβδομὰς here means not *a week*, but the *sabbath-day*, by which mistake he was led

from one error into another to the end of the sentence; and made the Essenes wonderful people indeed, and like Milton's angels, who void what they eat by insensible perspiration. The sense is: 'The Essenes used so plain and spare a diet, that they had no occasion to disburden on the sabbath, a day which they kept as a day of rest, and which they spent in singing religious hymns.'

The Essenes and Pharisees agreed in one respect very well, in being superstitious observers of trifles; and the author of the Constitutions seems to have had some portion of the same spirit. 'La nation Judaïque a été livrée à un tel esprit de puériles et de chimeriques observances, que leurs plus graves docteurs ont étendu le rituel jusques aux actions les plus machinales, comme est celle d'aller au privé. Malheur à qui ne sçait pas bien s'orienter; car les quatre points cardinaux de l'horison ne sont pas également favorables. Je ne puis dire qu'en Latin le reste de leurs ridicules superstitions.'—'Dixit R. Akiba, Ingressus sum aliquando post Rabbi Josuam in sedis secretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici. Didici 1, quod non versus orientem et occidentem, sed versus septentrionem et austrum, convertere nos debeamus. Didici 2, quod non in pedes erectum, sed jam considentem, se retegere liceat. Didici 3, quod podex non dextra sed sinistra manu abstergendus sit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Hasas: Usque adeo vere perfricuisti frontem erga magistrum tuum ut cacantem observares? Respondit ille, Legis hæc arcana sunt ad quæ discenda id necessario mihi agendum fuit.' Ex Barajetha, &c. "Voilà un merveilleux docteur, qui, même sur sa chaise percée, expliquoit sans dire mot les mystères de la loi." Bayle, Dict. *Akiba.*

Hammond, in his notes on 1 Cor. v. 5. speaking of the diseases and torments which in the apostolical times seized those persons who were excommunicated, and delivered up to Satan, says, 'Josephus simile quidpiam inter Essenos fuisse dicit, his verbis,' &c. Upon which Le Clerc remarks: 'Quod Josephus de Essenis refert id potest ita intelligi, ut excommunicatus ex mœrore interiisse dicatur, non miraculosa vi excommunicationis; quod tamen, si credidisset Josephus, non esset nefas ei fidem abrogare.'

It happens well for Josephus that he has not affirmed so

foolish a thing. He only says, Τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀξιοχρέοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἁλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς, οἰκτίστῳ πολλάκις μόρῳ διαφθείρεται. τοῖς γὰρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένος, οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγῶν δὲ καὶ λιμῷ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγούμενοι. 'Deprehensos vero in peccatis gravioribus ex ordine suo ejiciunt, isque cui contigit e cœtu ejici, non raro mortem obit miserrimam. Nam juramentis et ritibus obligatus ne aliorum quidem escis uti potest; sed dum herbas comedit, corpus fame tabescit, atque ita interit. Quam ob rem etiam ipsi plurimos miserati, extremum jam agentes spiritum receperunt; pro peccatis satis pœnarum, quod ad mortem usque fuerint cruciati, dedisse existimantes.' B. J. II. viii. 8.

We see here that the excommunicated Essenes died, neither of any miraculous distemper, nor yet of grief, but were starved to death, because they dared not to eat with other people, being bound by the oaths which they had taken; oaths which were superstitious, stupid, and unlawful.

One branch of the Essenes had a most uncharitable opinion of the female sex, and thought that a woman could scarcely be found who was faithful to her husband; and therefore they would not marry. How could they observe the commandment which says, 'Honour thy father and thy mother,' who entertained such hard sentiments of their mothers?

It is a conjecture of Van Dale, which, whether it be true or not, is ingenious and plausible, that Sadduceism owed its birth to the traditionary doctrines of the Jews. These traditions were so excessively impertinent, such quintessential, treble-refined folly, and yet so dogmatically enforced by haughty Pharisees and prating doctors as importances, that some of the nation, who could not endure to be treated at this overbearing rate, rebelled, and became free-thinkers; and flew out as far into the opposite extreme, and rejected the soul's immortality as a doctrine not clearly delivered in the Scriptures, supported by tradition, and proceeding from that muddy fountain of everlasting nonsense. Miserable spirit of contradiction! Because a man would deprive

me of common sense, I must, in resentment, throw away my religion! This is fulfilling in a very bad way the precept, 'If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.'

The Constitutions forbid Christians to wear a gold ring, and to shave their beards; which must have disgusted the Roman knights, and the Roman barbers. The true reason of the latter prohibition is this: It is said in Leviticus xix. 27. 'Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.' It is a wonder that they did not command Christians to keep the back door shut on Sundays, according to the laudable custom of the Essenes.

The Constitutions, from the beginning to the end, turn Christianity into a mere ceremonial law. i. 3.

They prove the resurrection by the pretty amusing story of the phœnix[x]; though indeed they warrant not the truth of it, but introduce the phœnix with an ὡς αὐτοί φασι, and they cite the Sibylline oracles as prophecies, and ten verses from them which clearly foretell the resurrection of the dead, the conflagration of the world, and the judgment at the last day; and which are manifestly the manufacture of a Christian:

Ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἤδη πάντα τέφρα σποδοέσσα γένηται,
Καὶ πῦρ κοιμίσῃ Θεὸς ἄφθιτος, ὅσπερ ἀνῆψεν,
Ὀστέα καὶ σποδιὴν αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἔμπαλιν ἄνδρα
Μορφώσῃ, στήσῃ δὲ βροτοὺς πάλιν ὡς πάρος ἦσαν,
Καὶ τότε δὴ κρίσις ἔσται, ἐφ' ᾗ δικάσει Θεὸς αὐτός,
Κρίνων ἔμπαλι κόσμον· ὅσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσσεβίῃσιν
Ἥμαρτον θνητοί, τοὺς δ' αὖ πάλι γαῖα καλύψει.
Ὅσσοι δ' εὐσεβέουσι, πάλιν ζήσοντ' ἐνὶ κόσμῳ,
Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ δόντος, ζωὴν θ' ἅμα καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς
Εὐσεβέσιν· πάντες τέ τότ' εἰσόψονται ἑαυτούς.

'Omnia sed postquam in cineres collapsa jacebunt,
Æternumque Deus succensum extinxerit ignem,
Inque hominem Deus ipse iterum formaverit ossa,
Et cineres, mortalibus, ut fuerant, renovatis:
Judicium tunc certo erit, in quo jus feret æquum

[x] And yet even honest Herodotus, who was inclined enough to give into the marvellous, rejected the story of the phœnix: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, &c. ii. 73.

Ipse Deus, mundi judex: ac qui impietate
Peccarint, iterum injecta tellure tegentur:
Contra iterum in mundo vivent pietatis amici,
Sanctis dante Deo vitam, flatum, atque favorem.
Se tunc agnoscent omnes, seseque videbunt.'

Κρίνων κόσμον—is ecclesiastical Greek. v. 7.

It is remarkable that the author of the Constitutions, who thus cites the Sibyl as a prophetess of good authority, at least as one fit to convince the Pagans, yet treats her with contempt (according to some copies), and calls her, not Σιβύλλα, but Ἀβύλλα, or *crazy fool*, which reading Cotelerius has admitted into the text. If the *old woman* had been alive, she might have replied to *Pseudo-Clemens*,

'Parcius ista, Pater, tamen objicienda memento.'

It would not be suitable to good manners to reproach a lady for pronouncing or spelling a word wrong, and therefore I am almost afraid to observe, that in the second line the prophetess has made a false quantity; for the *penultima* in κοιμίση is short. Perhaps the place was corrupted by the librarian, with whom we make free, and call him a blunderer. He should have written κοιμήση, or κοιμίσσῃ. In Homer, Odyss. M. 372, some editions give us

Ἦ με μάλ' εἰς ἄτην κοιμίσατε νηλέϊ ὕπνῳ.

But there it has been changed into κοιμήσατε.

Menander also, Fragm. p. 2. has

Ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, καὶ συνηγωνίσατο.

which Bentley changed into συνηγωνίζετο. Le Clerc endeavoured in vain to defend the common reading against him by the passage in Homer cited above. Le Clerc has committed some faults in his edition of Menander and Philemon, because he had not sufficiently considered the laws of prosody; but they who made those laws their study, and reproached him for his ignorance of them, were not able to keep themselves free from such faults, as might easily be showed. The small and trifling blemishes of this kind in Le Clerc are covered and amply compensated by other

productions, for which he deserves, and will receive, praise and honour:

'Th' estate which wits inherit after death.'

It were easy to make many more objections to the Constitutions; but others[y] have done it sufficiently, and perhaps it is not right to wage war with the dead:

'Nullum cum victis certamen et æthere cassis.'

THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS, though some of them may be antient, and composed in the second and third centuries, are not apostolical, in the strict sense of the word; and are interpolated in several places, as Beveridge himself confesses, who undertook their defence, and made the most he could of them. See his Cod. Can. Vindic. l. i. cap. x. 4.

Canon I. Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω δύο ἢ τριῶν.

'Quinque doctores et prophetas Antiochiæ congregatos esse traditur. Act. xiii. 1. Barnabam, Symeonem Nigrum, Lucium, Manahem, et Saulum.—Dicebat Spiritus sanctus, Ἀφορίσατε δή μοι τόν τε Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον—et protinus subjungitur, τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν. E quinque igitur hic congregatis duo, Barnabas et Saulus, ordinati sunt: reliqui sunt ergo tres soli qui ordinarunt. Chrysostomus autem in locum ait, ὅρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τίνων χειροτονεῖται, ὑπὸ Λουκίου καὶ Μαναήν, ac si Symeon ordinationi non interesset. Sed intererat haud dubie; quod etiam exinde constat, quod non in duali sed plurali numero dicitur, νηστεύσαντες, προσευξάμενοι, ἐπιθέντες, adeo ut tres tunc temporis, non plures, nec pauciores, ordines conferebant.' Beveridge.

To all these arguments I choose to say nothing: I only make a small grammatical remark, that in Greek, a verb in the plural is frequently joined to two nominative cases singular, and a participle plural with two substantives sin-

[y] See Turner's Discourse on the Constitutions.

gular; and that the dual number is not once used in all the New Testament: which Beveridge had forgotten, or had not observed.

What sort of opinion Beveridge had concerning the authority of these Canons, and whether he thought that Christians were obliged to observe them, is not very material to know: he seems to have entertained a great veneration for them. He says, that by establishing the antiquity of the Canons, 'hoc etiam boni commodique et nobis et aliis quibuscunque, se primitivorum Christianorum moribus conformes gerere cupientibus, emerget; quod præ oculis habeamus, qua ratione vitam nostram ad eorum exemplar instituamus'.—p. 76.

The primitive Christians deserve to be honoured on many accounts, and imitated in many things; and the same ought to be said of this learned and pious bishop: but after all that can be said, the authors of these Canons were fallible men; and it would be better for a Christian to take the precepts of Christ and the undoubted writings of the apostles for the rule of his faith and practice, and to conform to primitive Christianity just as far as primitive Christianity is comformable to Scripture and to reason, and not to ascribe a sacred and apostolical authority to a set of unknown canon- and constitution-makers.

Beveridge ascribes a kind of apostolical authority to the LTH Canon, which requires of the bishops and presbyters that they should make use of a threefold immersion in baptism, under pain of being deposed. 'Aliquo tamen modo,' says he, 'id ab apostolis traditum negare non ausi sumus; utpote quod a sanctis patribus nec semel assertum legimus.' The testimony of the fathers, in matters of tradition, is not always to be depended upon. But did our author himself use to conform to this canon?

The LXIXth Canon strictly requires the observation of the Quadragesimal Fast under spiritual pains and penalties: and this, together with other stated fasts, Beveridge takes to have been of apostolical institution. It is not probable that the apostles enjoined such things as absolutely necessary: things of that kind are more properly subjects for counsels than for precepts. To be temperate, and to keep the passions and appetites in due subjection, is the duty of all men: abstinence from food is so far good as it is found to conduce

to this end; but what suits one climate, and one constitution, and one age of life, suits not another.

The legislative spirit began to operate betimes; and when the Church made laws relating to doctrines and opinions which were not to be found in the New Testament, the *codex* became very bulky, and there was no end of law-making: How should there?

Somebody once asked a scholar, what was the meaning of ff, which stands for the *digests* or *pandects*, and was told that it meant *farrago farraginum*. The answerer was not in earnest: nor am I.—but Tacitus says somewhere: 'Corruptissima republica plurimæ leges.' And so much for this subject.

THE Sibylline Oracles were composed at different times, by different persons, first by Pagans, and then perhaps by Jews, and certainly by Christians. See the collections concerning them made by Fabricius Bibl. Gr. i. p. 167. an author whose memory all the learned world ought to bless, and to whom they should wish

'——tenuem et sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver.'

Justin Martyr, Cohort. ad Græcos 38, mentions the Sibyl as clearly foretelling the coming and the actions of Christ. 'His verbis,' says the last editor, 'Sibyllini, quales hodie extant, libri indicantur, in quibus tam aperta est rerum a Christo gerendarum prædictio, ut eam ex eventis fictam fuisse vix quisquam hodie non fateatur.' Præf. p. lxx. and in the Notes, 'Nihil sane suspicatus est Justinus, quamvis omnes horum librorum paginæ fraudem clamitent.' Thus the Benedictin, compelled by hard necessity, who would have defended both the Sibylline oracles, and his friend Justin who cited them, if he had been able. It ought however to be observed, that some persons, of at least as much learning and as much judgment as he, have suspected the genuineness of the *Cohortatio*.

The Sibylline oracles seem to have been all, from first to last, and without any one exception, mere impostures.

We have a collection of them in eight books, which abound with phrases, words, facts, and passages taken from

the LXX. and the New Testament, and are a remarkable specimen of astonishing impudence and miserable poetry.

It was a pleasant conceit of Possevin, in his *Apparatus sacer*, that a choice ought to be made of passages from these oracles, with proper notes, which might be used in schools. It would greatly perplex any man of learning to make a choice where all is so bad; he would be like Buridan's *ass* betwen two bundles of *musty* hay.

Is. Vossius, the patron of Sibylline oracles, *forged*, as he pretended, by *divinely inspired* Jews, would yet have given them up as bad compositions, and void of all elegance. 'Siquis,' says he, 'Græcos qui supersunt Judæorum consulat versus, prorsus illos similes fuisse inveniet, ac fuere veterum Christianorum carmina, quæ, si unum et alterum excipias, istiusmodi sunt, ut Scaliger sibi in sterquilinio versari videretur, quotiescunque ad ea legenda se conferret.' De Sibyl. c. 9. This is true enough. Nor does he attempt to defend the present collection. 'Quæ olim a Patribus Christianis lecta fuere, et etiamnum supersunt et leguntur oracula, longe a me abest ut omnia ea ejusdem generis et auctoritatis esse existimem, ac fuere ea de quibus hactenus sumus locuti. In his quippe quæ Christi nativitatem præcessere Sibyllinis, ea solum continebantur, quæ ex Prophetarum scriptis depromta essent vaticinia. At vero in illis, quæ vulgo leguntur, ea quoque occurrunt, quæ non ab aliis, quam ab iis, potuerunt conscribi, qui centum et viginti demum annis Christo fuere posteriores.' And he concludes that the old oracles were enlarged and interpolated by Christians. c. 8.

Mention is made by various writers of a Sibyl, who prophesied before the Trojan war, and from whom Homer took many lines, and particularly this prophecy, Il. Υ. 307.

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Which Virgil thus imitates, and accommodates to his own plan:

'Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.'

Others have said that Homer himself was endued with a prophetic spirit when he wrote those lines. Others have

observed a great affinity of style betwen Homer and the Sibylline verses, and thence have concluded that the poet was a plagiary[z]. Strange! that men of letters could talk at this idle rate. Of all the antient poets, Homer, who has a great simplicity, is perhaps the most easy to be imitated in point of bare diction and versification; and many persons are capable of closely copying him, or some other poet, as to style and numbers, who have no bright genius or invention, and are incapable of composing an elegant poem: but after all, the Sibylline oracles are just as like Homer as the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum are like Cicero's Epistles to Atticus.

Homer's prophecy is indeed remarkable, and might afford some observations not quite so childish as those above mentioned. We may conjecture,

1. That the poet went to Troy, i. e. to the region so called, and carefully surveyed the place, and the country about it; and indeed in his Ilias he paints and describes[a] as one who knew every spot of ground:

2. That the residue of the Trojans, after the departure of the Greeks, assembled together, and settled in their own country under Æneas:

3. That when Homer came to Troy, a prince reigned there who was descended from Æneas, and might be his grandson:

4. That this prince treated Homer kindly, and gave him some memoirs and informations concerning the Trojan chiefs, and particularly concerning his own ancestor:

5. That therefore Homer frequently celebrates Æneas as the son of a goddess, a warrior of great bravery, and of an amiable character, and one much favoured and beloved by the gods; he also mentions some particularities concerning him, as that Priamus[b] did not love and honour him according to his deserts:

[z] Clemens Alexandrinus charges Homer with taking verses from Orpheus and Musæus, instead of suspecting that these were later writers, under false names, who pillaged Homer. Strom. vi. p. 738. 751.

[a] Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη.—Il. K. 811.

[b] —αἰεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δῖω,
Οὕνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὔτι τίεσκεν.—Il. N. 460.

6. That Homer lived at least ninety years after the Trojan war.

The most antient writer who speaks of the Sibyl is Heraclitus, about five hundred years before Christ; after which she and her predictions are mentioned by Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, and who not.

The sum of the judgment which Fabricius, after a diligent examination, formed upon this subject is as follows:

'I. Nothing is more uncertain than what is related of the number of the Sibyls, whether there was one or more.

'II. Concerning the Sibyls, some think that they were inspired of God; others that they were possessed by evil spirits; others that they were assisted by a strong imagination and enthusiasm, and a kind of natural divination; to which must be added a fourth opinion, that these oracles were all fraud and human imposture, and that, if any of them were ever fulfilled, it was by hazard.

'III. It seems an assertion too confident to ascribe all the prophecies of the Sibyl and of other Pagans to knavery or chance; and it is more reasonable to suppose that sometimes there might be something præternatural in the case.

'IV. In the time of Cicero there were some Sibylline oracles which were *acrostichs*, and which, as Cicero observes, were the labour of a plodding impostor, and not the prophecy of an inspired person.

'V. The Romans had Sibylline oracles in the time of their kings, which were kept with great care in the Capitol, and consulted afterwards upon important occasions. They were burnt with the Capitol A. U. C. 670. and the Romans got a new collection from various places.

'VI. This second collection was burnt by Stilicho in the time of Honorius.

'VII. Besides these collections, there were other Sibylline oracles made and handed about from time to time.

'VIII. In Virgil's fourth Eclogue;

'Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:

Carmen Cumæum probably means Hesiod's poem, as Probus thinks; and *ultima ætas* is the same as *prima*, and means the *Saturnian times*, and the *golden age*: or, *ultima ætas* means the *last*, the *iron age*; and then *venit* is *fuit*, *præ-*

teriit, is *passed* and *gone*. Virgil took nothing here from the Sibylline oracles.

'IX. Our present collection contains not the books which were offered to Tarquin;

'X. Nor the second set of oracles which were brought to Rome;

'XI. Nor those oracles which were received by the Pagans.

'XII. Nothing contained in it ought to be admitted as made before the birth of Christ, unless we can find as antient vouchers for it.

'XIII. There are in this collection some lines which the author took from old Pagan oracles, from Homer, Orpheus, and other poets:

'XIV. But much is taken from the Old and New Testament.

'XV. It contains not all the Sibylline oracles of which the fathers made use, but it has the greater part of them.

'XVI. These oracles were forged in the first, second, and third centuries, not by Pagans, or Jews, but by heretics or orthodox Christians; not by the fathers, but by some unknown persons.

'XVII. There was no law which made it a capital crime to read these Sibylline oracles.'

Such is the sentiment of Fabricius, who would have granted that there is not extant one Sibylline oracle upon which we can depend as upon a prophecy fairly uttered before the event, and plainly accomplished. I see not why we should have a more favourable opinion of those which are lost.

The great difference of words and verses which appears even in the same passages of the Sibylline oracles, as they are cited by different fathers, shows that the collections of these poems varied much, and that every librarian thrust in what he thought proper, and what he had picked up here and there from any dunghill.

Amongst the defenders of the Sibylline oracles was Isaac Vossius, who wrote a book on that subject, a learned book, for he could write no other; but as to judgment, you must not seek it there. 'Credimus,' says he, 'omnes istos libros (*Apocryphos*) a Judæis fuisse compositos, DEO

IMPELLENTE IPSORUM MENTES ad significandum gentibus Christi adventum. Infinita itaque illi edidere volumina partim sub patriarcharum et prophetarum suorum nominibus, quales fuere libri qui olim lecti fuere sub nominibus Adami, Enochi, Abrahami, Moysis, Eliæ, Esaiæ, et Jeremiæ, partim vero sub nominibus illorum quorum magna apud gentiles esset existimatio, veluti Hystaspis, Mercurii Trismegisti, Zoroastris, Sibyllarum, Orphei, Phocylidæ, et complurium aliorum.' De Sibyl. Or. c. 7. It must be owned to have been a generous proceeding in Vossius to take the weaker side on several occasions, and to be an advocate for those who stood most in need of assistance, in which charitable behaviour he has been, and will be imitated; for this sort of charity also never faileth: but for inventing and maintaining paradoxes, he never had an equal, except father Harduin.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue was written, as Bishop Chandler and Mr. Masson have observed, when Pollio was consul; and the design of it was to compliment Augustus, or Cæsar Octavianus, as he was then called, and to foretell the birth of a son whom his wife Scribonia should bear, who was then with-child: but it proved a daughter, and the infamous Julia. See Chandler's Def. of Christ. and Vindicat. and at the end, a Dissertation of Masson.

'Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.'

Ultima means here *postrema*, and *prima*, the *fifth* and *last* in order, and the *first*, that is, the returning *golden age*.

'——isque parentem
Te, Saturne, refert; tu sanguinis *ultimus* auctor.'
Æn. vii. 48.

Venit means *is come*: it is contrary to the genius of the Latin tongue to interpret it *abiit*. Collins follows Fabricius in giving this latter sense to the verb: it is pity he did not follow him in many other points, where he would have found him a good guide. *Vĕnit* in the present tense is, *it is coming*; *vēnit* in the præterperfect, *it is come*, unless when it stands for an aorist, for ἦλθε, and means, *it came*. *Fuit*, indeed, often denotes what was, and is not. 'Fui-

mus Troes, fuit Ilium:' for, to avoid saying that a man was dead, the Romans said *fuit*, by an *euphemismus*.

Cumæum carmen cannot be the poem of Hesiod, for Virgil calls him *Ascræum senem*, and his poems *Ascræum carmen*. It must be, as Servius interprets it, *Carmen Sibyllinum*.

Hence we may suppose, that in Virgil's time there were said to be Sibylline oracles, which mentioned the return of the golden age, and a renovation of happy days: but whether these oracles were forged by a Jew, or by a Pagan, or whether the substance of them were stolen from the holy Scriptures, or whether Virgil borrowed any of his ideas and expressions from these oracles, is a matter of doubt and uncertainty. It cannot be denied, that there is a great resemblance between Virgil's Eclogue and the sacred Prophecies. See Bp. Chandler's Def. p. 10, &c.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue is a continued prophecy; and he must be supposed, for the sake of the *decorum*, to have acquired this foresight one way or other, else the poem would appear ridiculous. He gives no intimation that he was himself inspired,—I speak of prophetic, not of poetic inspiration; and father Hesiod was no predicter of future events, so that from him he could not pretend to learn it. Whence then could he feign to have it, but from *old oracles*, from the *Cumæum carmen?* If he had set up on this occasion for a prophet, he would have spoiled his compliment; it was better to represent himself as only an interpreter of antient prophecies, which he adorned with the graces of Latin poesy: this gave the Eclogue an air of importance and authority.

He pronounces that the *golden age* should commence under Augustus, and at the birth of his son, and should be brought to perfection when the young hero should arrive to manhood; and when his father (as the reader was left to suppose) was returned to heaven, and become one of the celestial gods.

Virgil has touched upon the same subject in other places: let us compare them together.

He declares, Georg. i. 24. that Augustus, when he should leave the earth, would become a god; one of the 'Dii majorum gentium.'

'Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura deorum
Concilia, incertum est;' &c.

And 503,

'Jampridem nobis cæli te regia, Cæsar,
Invidet.'

He intimates, ver. 500, that Augustus should restore peace and happiness; and that he was intended

'—— everso succurrere sæclo.'

Again, in the vi. Æneis, the Sibyl, the *Cumæan virgin* and *prophetess*, leads Æneas to Elysium, where he learns that Augustus should arise and bring with him the *golden age*. 792.

'Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem *promitti* sæpius audis:
Augustus Cæsar, Divi genus: aurea condet
Sæcula qui rursus Latio—'

promitti, that is, *foretold* by the gods and their prophets.
And again, 799.

'Hujus in adventum jam nunc et Caspia regna
Responsis horrent divûm.'

My inference from these things is, that Virgil by *Cumæum carmen* meant a Sibylline oracle; but I say not that he took any thing thence, besides a renovation and a golden age.

Virgil certainly paid no sincere regard to the Sibyl, and to her predictions. The Epicurean philosophy, in his days, had debauched the wits and the polite world; and he, as well as his friend Horace, was infected with it: but Virgil saw plainly that the atheistical system would make a poor figure in heroic poetry, and therefore has introduced it sparingly and obliquely. They who deny his Epicureism are persons with whom it would be a folly to dispute.

Not only the Sibylline oracles are to be rejected, but there is reason to suspect *the Orphic verses*, and also some few of the fragments of antient poets produced by the fathers, to have been forged or interpolated by Jews or Christians. Such are the Orphic verses cited by Justin. Cohort. § 15, and by others;

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ—&c.

Cudworth declared his doubts concerning them, Intell. Syst. p. 200. See also Le Clerc Hist. Eccl. p. 692. 'Les peres, au moins Clement Alexandrin, savoient bien que l'on avoit attribué plusieurs choses à Orphée, qui n'en étoient point, et l'on a sujet de doubter qu'ils crussent bien assurément que le passage de l'unité de Dieu fût de lui. Ils ont pu le citer, contre ceux qui pouvoient croire qu'il en étoit effectivement, par un raisonnement, dont les philosophes même se servent, faute de plus propres à persuader ceux, à qui ils ont à faire, et dont ils disent; *valeat quantum poterit valere.*' Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xxvii. 438.

In Eusebius Præp. Evang. xiii. 12. these Orphic verses are to be found, as they were produced by Aristobulus.

An oracle of Apollo, cited by Justin, Cohort. § xi. and by Porphyry, in Eusebius Præp. Evang. ix. 10. says;

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἠδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
Αὐτογένεθλον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἁγνῶς.

'Chaldæo Hebræoque unis sapientia cessit,
Qui casto æternum venerantur Numen honore.'

Here the Pagans and Porphyry were the dupes, who took this for a sacred oracle. Justin and Eusebius seem to use it as an *argumentum ad hominem.* Justin reads Θεὸν αὐτόν.

Some have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyry to be forged. See a Dissertation in Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xiii. 178. which well deserves to be perused. The author, whom I take to have been Le Clerc himself, acts the part of a moderator between Fontenelle or Van Dale, and their antagonist; and upon the whole is most inclined to side with the former, though not in every thing. He blames the latter for using *figures* of *rhetoric* instead of *reasons*, treating Van Dale and Fontenelle as Socinians, setting the mob at them, and such sort of *pauvretez.* But as great guns are the 'ratio ultima regum,' so these are the 'ratio ultima disputatorum,' and supply the want of ammunition; and yet it is not altogether fair and honourable war; it is shooting chewed bullets and glass bottles.

'Cæterum,' says Le Clerc, 'notatu dignissimum est hoc oraculum, quod neque a Judæo, neque a Christiano, neque etiam ab Ethnico e vulgo fingi potuit.' Oper. Phil. tom. ii. in Indice, *Hebræi.*

Yet it might be made by some fantastical Pagan, who entertained a favourable opinion of the Chaldæans and of the Jews; or rather by some Jew, who was not very scrupulous, and who might join the Chaldæans to the Jews, thinking it would remove the suspicion that the oracle was framed by a Jew: he might also give this honour to the Chaldæans for the sake of his father Abraham, who was a Chaldæan. Or it might be the work of some old heretic, or of some foolish Christian. It seems to have been forged in the same shop where the Orphic verses before mentioned were fabricated: No one knew God, says this Orpheus;

Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορῥὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων.—

'Ast aliquis tantum Chaldæo a sanguine cretus.'

By whom, says Clemens, he means Abraham, or his son, Strom. v. p. 723. Clemens observes, that Orpheus borrowed his thoughts and expressions from the Scriptures; and so far he is certainly in the right.

An oracle of Apollo in Lactantius De Fals. Rel. i. 7. says,

Οὔνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενον, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
Τοῦτ' Θεός· μικρὰ δὲ Θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

'Nomen ne verbo quidem capiendum, in igne habitans,
Hoc Deus est: modica autem Dei portio angeli nos.'

Made by a Jew, or a Christian.

There are more of the same stamp in Lactantius; and also Sibylline oracles bearing the most manifest marks of imposture.

Justin Cohort. § 16, and others after him, give us these Sibylline verses, which teach the unity of God, and condemn idolatry and sacrifices, and exhort to the love of God; and are altogether in the language of the Scriptures, and carry their own confutation along with them:

Εἷς Θεὸς ὃς μόνος ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγένητος,
Παντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα·
Αὐτὸς δ' οὐ βλέπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἁπάσης.

'Unus Deus, qui solus est, ter maximus, increatus,
Omnipotens, invisibilis, ipse videns omnia,
Ipse autem a nulla videtur carne mortali.'

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτοιο τρίβους πεπλανημένοι ἦμεν,
Ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα γεραίρομεν ἄφρονι μύθῳ (θύμῳ)
Εἴδωλα ξοάνων τε καταφθιμένων τ' ἀνθρώπων.

'Nos autem ab immortalis viis aberraveramus,
Ac opera manu facta colebamus stulta mente
Simulacra et statuas[c] pereuntium hominum.'

Ὄλβιοι ἄνθρωποι κεῖνοι κατὰ γαῖαν ἔσονται,
Ὅσσοι δὴ στέρξουσι μέγαν Θεὸν, εὐλογέοντες
Πρὶν φαγέειν πιέειν τε, πεποιθότες εὐσεβίησιν·
Οἳ νηοὺς μὲν ἅπαντας ἀπαρνήσονται ἰδόντες,
Καὶ βωμοὺς, εἰκαῖα λίθων ἀφιδρύματα κωφῶν,
Αἵμασιν ἐμψύχων μεμιασμένα καὶ θυσίαισι
Τετραπόδων, βλέψουσι δ' ἑνὸς Θεοῦ ἐς μέγα κῦδος.

'Felices homines super terram erunt,
Quicumque diligent magnum Deum, benedicentes
Antequam comedant et bibant, confidentes pietate:
Qui omnia quidem templa abnegabunt videndo,
Et altaria, inanes, lapidum sedes surdorum,
Cruoribus animalium contaminata et victimis
Quadrupedum; et respicient ad unius Dei magnum decus.'

In the fourth line, instead of τρίβους, one might read ἀθανάτοιο τρίβου, with ἀπὸ understood; which may be translated, 'We have erred from the everlasting path;' but I rather think that ἀθανάτοιο τρίβου means 'the path of God;' ἀπὸ τῆς τρίβου τοῦ Ἀθανάτου.

Ἐγνώρισάς με ὁδοὺς ζωῆς. Psalm. xv. 11. Τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου; Isai. lxiii. 17. Στῆτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, καὶ ἴδετε, καὶ ἐρωτήσατε τρίβους Κυρίου αἰωνίους· καὶ ἴδετε ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀγαθή. Jerem. vi. 16. And the prophetess says in another place,

—— τρίβων ὀρθὴν
Εὐθείαν προλιπόντες.

Justin in his Dialogue takes no notice of the Sibyl; in his Apology he mentions her as foretelling the conflagration at the last day, and saying many good things; and complains that it was forbidden to read her. The Cohortatio is

[c] Rather *defunctorum*. But I leave the Latin versions usually as I find them, though sometimes they want emendation.

thought to surpass his other works in elegance of diction; but that alone will hardly be a sufficient reason to pronounce it spurious, though it may justify a suspicion and an hesitation about it. The Benedictin editor, p. 604, says, 'Cum scriberet Cohortationem ad Græcos Justinus, credebat Septuaginta illos Viros, dum pro se quisque separatim inclusi laborabant, magno miraculo in omnibus verbis et sententiis inter se consensisse. Sed hanc fabulam, nec in prima Apologia, ubi agit de Septuaginta Interpretibus, commemorat, nec in Dialogo illius credendæ onus imponit Judæis: in quo quidem non levis conjectura est eam Justinum aut missam fecisse, aut saltem suspectam habere cœpisse.' Some will rather conjecture from this, that Justin was not the author of the Cohortatio; and I could name a friend, well known to the learned world, and a very good judge, who thinks that nothing of Justin is certainly genuine, besides the Dialogue and the Apologies. The Benedictin endeavours to prove that the Cohortatio is to be ascribed to him, and contends with Casimire Oudin, who held the contrary opinion. Præf. p. lxviii.

The Sibyl in the Procem says,

Τὶς γὰρ σὰρξ δύναται τὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀληθῆ
Ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν Θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς πόλον οἰκεῖ;
Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκτίνων κατεναντίον ἠελίοιο
Ἄνθρωποι στῆναι δυνατοὶ, θνητοὶ γεγαῶτες.

'Corporeis oculis etenim quis cernere verum
Æternumque Deum possit, cœlumque colentem?
Cum neque splendentis radiantia lumina solis
Sustineant homines mortales cernere contra.'

Socrates in Xenophon has the same sentiment, and says that the Deity is inconspicuous, and that a man cannot look upon the sun without being dazzled. Memor. iv. 3. Theophilus, Minucius Felix, Theodoret, and others have said the same thing. Clemens Alexandrinus fancied that Xenophon borrowed it from the Sibyl, Cohort. p. 61. and Strom. v. 714. But even admitting the antiquity of these verses, and supposing that they were written in Noah's ark, it will not follow from the parity of thought, that Socrates or Xenophon had seen them, since all men, except those who are blind, know, without an instructor, that it is impossible to look

upon the sun when he shines out in full strength. One thing is very plain, that the two first verses, and the word σὰρξ, for *mortal man*, are taken from the scriptures.

Justin Cohort. 18. has cited a very singular passage from Sophocles;

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστιν Θεὸς,
Ὃς οὐρανὸν τέτευχε, καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,
Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίας.
Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι,
Ἱδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὴν
Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,
Ἢ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους·
Θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ καλὰς πανηγύρεις
Τεύχοντες, οὕτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.[c]

[c] Bentley, in his Epistle to Mill, corrects these verses ascribed to Sophocles, and rejects them as spurious. He says:

Efficiam ut posthac hi versiculi sano saltem pede possint incedere. Sic igitur emendo:

Ἐν ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν εἷς ἐστιν Θεὸς,
Ὃς οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,
Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίας·
Θνητοί τε πολλὸν καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι
Ἱδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὴν,
Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων ἢ χαλκέων
Ἢ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους.
Θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ κενὰς πανηγύρεις
Τεύχοντες οὕτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

Ita fere leguntur apud Justinum, Clementem, Eusebium, Theodoritum, et partim Athenagoram; adeo ut demirer interpretem (Malalæ) Chilmeadum, hominem sane pereruditum, in luce tam clara minus solito perspexisse. Sed non te celabo, quod pace sanctorum virorum dictum velim, vehementer me suspicari non esse hæc a Sophocle. Id adeo cur in animum inducam, si me interroges; dico, permirum mihi præter alia videri, tam illustrem locum Ecclesiasticis solis incurrisse in oculos, aliorum omnium aciem effugisse. Quî factum, uti dormitaret hic Plutarchi diligentia? Quî Porphyrium præterire potuit περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων tam insigne testimonium adversus τῶν θυσιῶν τὰς παρανόμους σφαγὰς, ut ad hunc locum ait Theodoritus? Ubi tu, Stobæe, cessasti? tu, qui tot forulos bibliothecarum excussisti, Sophoclis autem et Euripidis monumenta studiose præter cætera lectitasti? Adeone paucos è patribus, quid patres autem dico? unumne aliquem tenebrionem, qui supposita persona librum ediderit (ut et olim et hodie nonnullorum opinio est, neque adeo injuria) cæteris omnibus perspicaciorem et diligentiorem fuisse? Clemens enim aperte et ingenue fatetur Hecatæi se fidem secu-

'Unus profecto est, unus est tantum Deus,
Cæli solique machinam qui condidit,
Vadumque ponti cœrulum, et vim spiritus.

tum, apud ipsum Sophoclem omnino non legisse. Ὁ μὲν Σοφοκλῆς, ait Strom. v. ὡς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἄβραμον καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. Illud autem exploratum habeo tam a Justino et Clemente patres alios accepisse, quam Justinum et Clementem commentitii ejus Hecatæi autoritate tradidisse. Quem ad hominem demum, et quam nulla fide res redierit vides. Ille ne ut Sophocli versiculos aliquot vereretur affingere, qui illum ipsum, quo eos adduxit, librum ediderit simulata persona Hecatæi? Ipsa præterea oratio de se facit indicium. Non agnosco illud χαλκέων, et πολλὸν sumtum, ut aiunt, adverbialiter, esse hominis Attici, aut in tragœdia ferri posse. Qualis enim hæc foret confusio dialectorum, et, ut ait ille, sartago loquendi? Oportuit enim πολὺ et χαλκῶν. Χαλκέων quidem a χαλκεὺς Attice dixeris; minime gentium a χαλκοῦς, non magis mehercule quam ἀγαπάει vel Ἀριστοτέλεος. χρύσεα, ait Phrynichus, ἀργύρεα, κυάνεα, χάλκεα, ταῦτα Ἴαχα διαιρούμενα· χρὴ οὖν λέγειν, χρυσᾶ, ἀργυρᾶ, κυανᾶ, τὸν Ἀττικίζοντα. Χρυσοῦς λέγε, τὸ γὰρ χρύσεος Ἰακὸν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀργυροῦς, χαλκοῦς, κυανοῦς, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Rogo denique cui personæ hæc oratio conveniat? Quave Sophocles fiducia die festo Ludorum (non alias enim in scena quam Panathenæis ac trinis Liberalibus tragœdiæ docebantur) illos ipsos dies festos et ludos solennes in contemptionem adduceret? Istuccine se impune laturum speraret? Nonne Æschyli periculum cautiorem eum faceret, qui, quod in Sisypho opinor πετροκυλιστῇ ad Cereris mysteria curiosius videretur alludere, nisi ad aram Bacchi confugisset, illico trucidatus esset in scena: postea etiam in Areopago de capite suo caussam dixit?——

Auget vehementer suspicionem nostram ipse Clemens in Protreptico, qui posteaquam versus eos tanquam Sophocleos protulit, Οὗτοσὶ μὲν, ait, ἤδη καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένος ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισήγαγεν. Ergo et Clementis judicio in capitis venisset discrimen, quicunque eos olim in scenam detulisset. Ii alibi citantur hoc exemplo:

Θνητοὶ δὲ πουλυκερδείᾳ πλανώμενοι
Ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὴν,
Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,
Ἢ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους.

Quamobrem, quia nullus jam locus est censuræ nostræ in πολλὸν et χαλκέων, alia efferam argumenta oportet, cur subdititii sint. Multis sane nominibus non placet illud πουλυκερδείᾳ. Nam quid, obsecro, facit πουλυ in tragœdiæ diverbio? est enim ex dialecto Ionica. Neque vero δεια spondæus in sede quarta ferri potest contra morem consuetudinemque Tragicorum. Theocritus:

Καὶ φιλοκερδείῃ βεβλαμμένον ἄνδρα παρελθεῖν.

Neque porro πουλυκερδεία de avaritia possis accipere cum interprete Clementis: verum ea sententia nimium quidem inepta et inficeta, quasi

At ducta cæco errore gens mortalium
Commenta cladis in suæ solatium est
Formas Deorum saxeas aut æreas,

si prudentia sive astutia homines in errorem inciderint. Πολυκέρδεια enim est πολυΐδρεια. Ut Ulysses Homericus:

Οὐκ ἔα εἰπέμεναι, πολυΐδρείησι νόοιο,
Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδείῃσιν ἄνωγε.

Sed et alia fertur scriptura nihilo melior:

Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι.

Mihi quidem, salvo aliorum judicio, 'nos multi mortales' parum ornate dici videtur pro elegantia Ἀττικῆς μελίττης. Sed utcunque de ea re visum fuerit eruditis, rogatos eos velim, qui luculenter Græce sciunt, utrum καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι domesticus sit sincerusque sermo Græcus, an potius peregrinus et πονηροῦ κόμματος? Nimirum suo se indicio prodit Judæus iste sorex. Neque enim Hellenismus est, verum Hebraismus purus putus ex S. S. tralatus atque expressus. Psalm. xciv. (et Epist. ad Hebræos) Ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου. Esaias xxi. Ἡ καρδία μου πλανᾶται. Imo enimvero negamus ista—

Ἡ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους,

ab homine Græco, nedum a Sophocle, proficisci posse. Τύπος hoc in loco est ipsa statua, αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα, οὐκ εἶδος τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ut apud Isocratem in fine Evagoræ: τοὺς μὲν τύπους ἀναγκαῖον παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι παρ' οἷς ἂν σταθῶσι. Dicerent vero Græci

Ἡ χρυσοτεύκτους ἢ ἐλεφαντίνους τύπους Θεῶν,

non χρυσοτεύκτων· velut εἰκόνας dicunt χαλκᾶς Ὀλυμπιονικῶν, non χαλκῶν. Artemidorus: χάλκεαι γὰρ εἰκόνες τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀνατίθενται. Ita passim et vulgo, ut quidem testimoniis uti putidissimum foret. Neque vero aliter Latini. Lucretius:

'Si non aurea sunt juvenum simulacra per ædes:'

non 'aureorum.'

Plinius, xxxiv. 7. 'Lignea potius aut fictilia deorum simulacra.' Juvenalis:

'Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci.'

Horatius:

'—Quid referam — quo pacto — in imagine cerea
Largior arserit ignis.'

Itaque τύπους ἐλεφαντίνων Θεῶν nihil minus est quam Græca oratio; ea tamen utitur Sibylla iii. ξυλίνων Θεῶν εἴδωλα dicens pro ξύλινα.

Οἵτινες οὐκ ἀπάτῃσι κεναῖς, οὐδ' ἐργ' ἀνθρώπων
Χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεια, καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος,
Καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε Θεῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων,
Πήλινα, μιλτόχριστα, ζωογραφίας τυπωθείς,
Τιμῶσιν, ὅσα κεν τε βροτοὶ κενεόφρονι βουλῇ.

Eadem habet Protrepticus Clementis. Quis porro inficiabitur in eodem

Aurove ductas fusili, aut eburneas.
His victimarum sanguinem, his festos dies,
Cum dedicamus, esse nos remur pios.'

doctos esse ludo subjectorem hunc Oraculorum, et commentitium illum Hecatæum? Quod si vicero de versibus falso Sophocli attributis, etiam illud evidentissime constabit, quod olim Philo Herennius, et patrum memoria Josephus Scaliger suspicati sunt, nempe librum illum de Judæis qui sub Hecatæi nomine ferebatur, a Judæo quodam Hellenista fuisse confictum; velut Aristeam illum pari facinore, quem suppositititum esse convincunt post eundem Scaligerum alii bene multi, in quibus omnium doctissime et copiosissime Humfredus Hodius.

One who should be disposed to dispute the point with Bentley, might say that, besides the first and the illustrious Sophocles, there was a Sophocles his grandson, and a third in the time of the Ptolemies, and that they were all dramatic poets; and he might suppose that this fragment, or a part of it, was possibly taken from the second or third Sophocles. See Fabricius B. Gr. i. 623. He might compound the matter, and conjecture that the three first lines were genuine, and the six following spurious.

If the Cohortatio were not written by Justin, Athenagoras was perhaps the first father who took notice of this passage, and he only cites the two first verses; which gives some reason to suspect that he never saw the rest.

But, upon a review of the whole, I must agree with Bentley, and reject this 'pious fragment' as the work of one forger, or perhaps of two.

In the first verse,

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν εἷς ἐστιν θεὸς

is preferable to

Ἐν ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν.

Bentley objects to

Θνητοὶ δὲ πουλυκερδείᾳ πλανώμενοι,

that the fourth foot will be a spondee: but may not the diphthongs αι, ει, οι, be made short, when a vowel or diphthong follows in the same word? Sophocles Philoct. 1450.

Τίνα προσωφέλησιν ἔρξεις; Βέλεσι τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις —

And so in other places, if I remember rightly.

Homer Il. Σ. 105.

Τοῖος ἐὼν, οἷος ὄυτις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.

He observes, as I think, rightly, that an Attic writer would not use πουλυκερδείᾳ in an Iambic verse; but πουλὺς for πολὺς is rather a poetic licence than an Ionic dialect. The best objection to πουλυκερδείᾳ is, that it is nonsense.

Attic writers use the words ὁλοίατο, ὀψοίατο, τιθέασι, διδόασιν, &c. which seem properly to belong to the Ionic dialect.

In the seventh verse, should it be,

Ἢ χρυσοτεύκτους ἢ ἐλεφαντίνους τύπους.

Or —— ἢ 'λεφαντίνους —?

These verses are to be found in Clemens Alexandrinus and in other fathers, and with some variety of readings. See Eusebius P. Ev. xiii. 13. p. 680. and the notes of Vigerus. 'Though this be such,' says Cudworth, 'as might well become a Christian, and be no where now to be found in those extant tragedies of this poet, many whereof have been lost, yet the sincerity thereof cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the antient fathers, in their writings against the Pagans, as particularly Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Cyril, and Theodoret, of which number Clemens tells us, that it was attested likewise by that antient Pagan historiographer Hecatæus. Intell. Syst. p. 363.

Hecatæus, whom Josephus commends, Contr. Apion. i. 22. is said to have lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and to have conversed much with the Jews, and he might have been a kind of proselyte, or half-Jew. Le Clerc suspects that this book of Hecatæus might have been forged by the Jews. Bibl. Chois. viii. 392. Athenagoras only cites the two first verses of this fragment: it is strange that he should not have produced the rest, if he ever saw it, which made so much for his purpose. Some may think it improbable that Sophocles should venture to attack the gods and the religious ceremonies of his own country in so open a manner: but these verses are not, like those of the Sibyl, in the style of the Scriptures, and it is certain that in the Greek comedies and tragedies there are many bold strokes against the fabulous and popular religions; and Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. v. p. 691, produces passages out of Euripides, Plato, and Zeno, which are very remote from the vulgar notions concerning the gods. The fathers have taken great pains to collect such testimonies, for which we are much obliged to them.

Justin, Cohort. 38. cites an oracle, which seems to be a Jewish or a Christian trifle, in which it is said that God

— πρῶτον πλάσας μερόπων, Ἀδάμ δε καλέσσας.

'Qui primum mortalem effinxit, Adamque vocavit.'

Justin, in the book de Monarchia, if it be his, produces a passage from Philemon, which others ascribe to Menander, wherein are these lines:

Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσιμον καθεστάναι,
Μὴ παρθένους φθείροντα, καὶ μοιχώμενον,
Κλέπτοντα, καὶ σφάζοντα χρημάτων χάριν,
[Τ' ἀλλότρια βλέποντα, κἀπιθυμοῦντα
Ἤτοι γυναικὸς, πολυτελοῦς ἢ δώματος,
Ἢ κτήσεως, παιδός τε, παιδίσκης δ' ἁπλῶς,
Ἵππων, βοῶν τὸ σύνολον, ἢ κτηνῶν. τί δή;]
Μηδὲ βελόνης ἓν ἄμμ' ἐπιθυμῇς, Πάμφιλε.

'Probum esse namque oportet omnino virum,
Non inferentem stupra nuptæ aut virgini,
Lucrive causa furta vel cædes; neque
[Aliena spectantem ac deinde conjugis
Male appetentem, aut superbarum ædium
Aut prædiorum, vel puellæ, aut vernulæ,
Pecorisve taurûmve aut equûm. Quo hæc pertinent?]
Acum vel unam haud concupiscas, Pamphile.'

The verses which I have inclosed in brackets are not in Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. v. 720. nor in Eusebius Præp. Evang. xiii. 13. nor in the collections of Grotius, or of Le Clerc. They are, I think, the handy-work of some Jew or Christian, and a sorry imitation of the tenth commandment; and, it may be, an interpolation in Justin: Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τοῦ βοὸς αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τοῦ ὑποζυγίου αὐτοῦ, οὔτε παντὸς κτήνους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε ὅσα τῷ πλησίον σου ἐστί· Exod. xx. 17.

Τ' ἀλλότρια βλέποντα, κἀπιθυμοῦντα

is not a verse, nor worth the mending. One might read,

Τ' ἀλλότρια βλέποντ', ἢ ἐπιθυμούμενον—

He also cites some verses from Æschylus;

Χώριζε θνητῶν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ μὴ δόκει
Ὅμοιον σαυτῷ σάρκινον καθεστάναι.—&c.
Πάντα δύναται γάρ· δόξα δ' ὑψίστου Θεοῦ.

'Deum amoveto longius mortalibus,
Nec tibi parem esse, carne amictum, finxeris.—
Namque omnia potest: laus Dei est altissimi.'

This passage is also to be found with some various readings in Clemens Strom. v. 727.

The last line has an air of forgery; it is unharmonious, and prosaic, and seems to be taken from the Scriptures. In the second line, instead of Ὅμοιον σαυτῷ it should perhaps be Ὅμοια σαυτῷ — for the second foot will not regularly admit a spondee.

Eusebius, unless my memory deceive me, has made no direct use of the Sibyl; whence it may be conjectured that he had no great esteem for her. Dr. Middleton has charged him with approving and justifying a very silly acrostich of the Erythræan Sibyl. 'Eusebius has preserved an acrostich.—He tells us, however, that many rejected it—but the truth, adds he, is manifest—for it is agreed by all that Cicero had read this poem. Now the sole ground of this confident assertion is,' &c. Inquiry, p. 36.

The Father of Ecclesiastical History deserves not this censure, and the Doctor has inadvertently ascribed to Eusebius sentiments contained in an oration, published indeed by Eusebius, but composed by the Emperor Constantine. As to the emperor's judgment, Defend it who will, for I will not: but why should Eusebius be responsible for the mistakes of Constantine? See Constantini Orat. apud Eusebium, p. 700. edit. Cant. and Valesius there, and Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 32.

Eusebius cites the Sibyl, Præp. Evang. xiii. 13. but in the words of Clemens Alexandrinus, whom he transcribes.

IX. 15. He produces a passage from her concerning the tower of Babel; but he took it, as he informs us, from Josephus Ant. i. 4. who says, Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως, Πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πύργον ὡκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. 'De turri autem hac, deque linguis hominum mutatis meminit etiam Sibylla, ad hunc modum dicens: Cum universi homines uno eloquio uterentur, turrim

ædificarunt quidam excelsissimam, quasi ad cælum per eam ascensuri. Dii vero procellis emissis turrim everterunt, et suam cuique linguam dederunt. Quæ causa fuit, ut urbs ea Babylonis nomen acciperet.'

The verses relating to this subject are preserved by Theophilus ad Autolycum, ii. 31.

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλοιο θεοῦ τελέωνται ἀπειλαί,
Ἃς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτευξαν
Χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ. ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες,
Καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·
Αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μεγάλην ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην
Πνεύμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὕψόθι πύργον
Ῥίψαν, καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὦρσαν.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργος τ' ἔπεσεν, γλῶσσαί τ' ἀνθρώπων
Εἰς πολλὰς θνητῶν ἐμερίσθησαν διαλέκτους,
Γαῖα βροτῶν πληροῦτο μεριζομένων βασιλήων.

Sed quando magni Dei perficiuntur minæ,
Quas aliquando comminatus est mortalibus, quando turrim fabricarunt
In terra Assyria. Erant autem omnes unius linguæ,
Et voluerunt scandere cælum stelligerum.
Statim autem Immortalis magnam imposuit necessitatem
Ventis. Venti autem magnam et altam turrim
Ubi dejecerunt, etiam inter mortales discordiam excitarunt.
Rursus ubi turris cecidit, ac linguæ hominum
Mortalium in multas divisæ sunt dialectos,
Terra mortalibus impleta fuit sub variis regibus.

In the last line perhaps for βασιλήων it should be βασιλειῶν. The earth was replenished with men, and divided into various kingdoms.

Hence it may be concluded, that a Sibylline oracle concerning the tower of Babel was extant in the days of Josephus, and hence Beveridge makes some inferences in favour of the Sibylline verses cited by the antient fathers, which are by no means conclusive and satisfactory. Cod. Can. Illustr. i. 14.

Was the oracle mentioned by Josephus in prose or in verse? We cannot certainly tell, but it is most probable that it was in verse, and that Josephus gave us the sense and substance of it in prose. Had Josephus those verses before him which are preserved by Theophilus? Beveridge

says he had, and so thinks Isaac Vossius; and it may be so. But then the verses seem to have undergone some alteration afterwards, for the Sibyl in Josephus says, that from the confusion of languages the place was called Babylon; the Sibyl in Theophilus says it not: the Sibyl in Josephus says that *οἱ Θεοὶ*, the gods, overthrew the edifice; but in the verses it is *Ἀθάνατος*, God, which may seem better to agree with *μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ* that went before.

One might conjecture that at first it was thus:

Αὐτίκα δ' ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ μεγάλην ΕΠΕΘΗΚΑΝ ἀνάγκην
Πνεύμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον
Ῥίψαν, καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὦρσαν.

By this change, *Ἀθάνατοι* may be the nominative case to *ὦρσαν*, instead of *ἄνεμοι*, and it seems more reasonable that the gods than the winds should set the men at variance. It is in a Pagan style, and yet a Jewish forger might write it, and take the bold liberty to say *Ἀθάνατοι*, meaning God and his angels, or the angels. Angels are sometimes called gods, and in Genesis xi. 7. whence this account is taken, 'the Lord said, Let *us* go down, and there confound their language,' in which words, according to many of the rabbins, God speaks to his angels. Josephus himself now and then uses expressions bordering upon Paganism.

It is not safe to trust one's memory in things of this kind; but I think that profane authors, though they sometimes say *Ἀθάνατοι*, for the gods, and make it a substantive, yet never say *Ἀθάνατος*, simply, for God, or the supreme God. The Sibylline oracles more than once use this word in this manner, and show by it that they are not the work of a Pagan.

The supposition which some have made, that Justin Martyr was guilty of forging the Sibylline oracles, is groundless and perverse. Justin has written his own character in every page of his works, and shows himself pious, warm, sprightly, fearless, open, hasty, honest, inquisitive, sincere, and as void of dissimulation and hypocrisy as a child. Add to this, that he writes like a man who had no turn for such things, and was not only no poet, but not a verse-maker. But though he was incapable of forgery, he was deluded

by these forged oracles, and perhaps by his authority led the fathers who lived after him into the same error.

Tatian makes no use of the Sibylline oracles, and only just mentions the Sibyl amongst the writers who were before Homer, and after Moses. Orat. contr. Græc. § 41.

Athenagoras, to show that the gods of the Gentiles were men, produces six verses from the Sibyl. Legat. § 30.

Theophilus gives us no less than eighty-four Sibylline verses, ad Autol. ii. the same which stand in the beginning of the editions of these oracles, and which are mere patch-work of scripture-phrase. When the Greek poets said things consonant to the holy scriptures, Theophilus observes that they stole their knowledge from the law and the prophets, κλέψαντες ταῦτα ἐκ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. It is strange that he did not suspect the same thing of the Sibyl, whose thefts are so open and glaring. ii. 37.

The Sibylline verses cited by the fathers, and those which are preserved in our present collection, are often the same, and always of the same stamp and value, and liable to the same objections. It is a vain thing to receive the one, and reject the other: it is better to defend them all heroically in the lump, and not to do the work by halves, nor make a distinction where there is no difference.

Clemens Alexandrinus was learned, and willing to show his learning, and to let the world see that he had perused all sorts of authors; and therefore could not possibly omit the Sibyl.

He produces these verses (from the Sibyl, though he names her not) in praise of the Hebrews, Cohort. 60.

Οἱ τινες οὐκ ἀπάτῃσι κεναῖς, οὐδ' ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων
Χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεια, καὶ ἀργύρου, ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος,
Καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε, βροτῶν εἴδωλα θανόντων,
Τιμῶσιν, ὅσαπέρ τε βροτοὶ, κενεόφρονι βουλῇ.
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἴρουσιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἁγνὰς,
Ὀρθριοι ἐξ εὐνῆς, αἰεὶ χρόα ἁγνίζοντες
Ὕδασι, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν ἀεὶ μεδέοντα
Ἀθάνατον.

Qui nusquam vanis erroribus inducti, hominum opera
Ex ebore argentoque, ex auro denique et ære,
E saxis lignoque hominum simulacra peremptorum,

Horrent, et quæcumque alii, vanissima turba.
At contra puras tollunt ad sidera palmas,
Mane ubi membra levant strato, quæ virgine lympha
Perfundunt: unumque colunt, qui cuncta gubernat,
Usque immortalem.

I give this version, as I find it in the Oxford edition, and shall not trouble myself to mend it. The fifth verse seems to be taken from St. Paul—ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας. 1 Tim. ii. 8. Perhaps, πρός γ' οὐρανὸν, for the sake of metre, and also ὠλένας ἁγνοὺς, from ὠλὴν; for the last syllable of ὠλένας from ὠλένη is long. In the last verse for Ἀθάνατον, Sylburgius would read Ἀθανάτων, I know not why. This passage may be found in the Sibyll. Or. l. iii.

Amongst the Sibylline verses cited by Theophilus and Clemens, are these:

Εἷς Θεός ἐστι, βροχὰς, ἀνέμους, σεισμοὺς ἐπιπέμπων,
Ἀστεροπὰς, λιμοὺς, λοιμοὺς, καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ,
Καὶ νιφετοὺς, κρύσταλλα· τί δὴ καθ' ἓν ἐξαγορεύω;

Unus Deus est, imbres, ventos, terræ motus immittens,
Fulgura, fames, pestes, et luctus tristes,
Et nives, et glaciem. Et quid singula commemoro?

This is taken from the Psalms. Τοῦ διδόντος χίονα—βάλλοντος κρύσταλλον αὐτοῦ—Χάλαζα, χιὼν, κρύσταλλος, πνεῦμα καταιγίδος—cxlvii, cxlviii.

Minucius Felix mentions not the Sibyl, though he was invited to it by his subject, where he defends the Christians for teaching the doctrine of a conflagration and a future judgment, and appeals to the poets and philosophers who had said the same thing, c. xxxiv. etc. I am glad of it, for the sake of that ingenious and agreeable author.

The Phrygian Sibyl is said to have been called Diana, Ἄρτεμις, and to have uttered these verses at Delphi:

Ὦ Δελφοὶ θεράποντες ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
Ἦλθον ἐγὼ χρήσουσα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
Αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ κεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

O Delphi, Phœbi ferientis qui eminus estis
Servi, veni ad vos Jovis expositura potentis
Mentem, germano succensens plurima Phœbo.

Thus Clemens Strom. i. p. 384, and Pausanias also says

that the Sibyl calls herself Herophile, and Diana, and the sister, and sometimes the wife, and sometimes the daughter of Apollo. See the notes.

We have here, I think, the fragment of a true old Sibylline oracle made by a Pagan. It looks as if it were composed by some priest, who had a mind to set up an oracle in opposition to the Delphic, and to draw the trade to another shop.

Pausanias in Phoc. gives us this Sibylline oracle predicting a defeat of the Athenians, and made, I suppose, after the event;

Καὶ τότ' Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύστονα κήδεα θήσει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, οὗπερ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.
Νηυσὶ φέρει πολέμοιο μάχην καὶ δηιοτῆτα
Ὀλλυμέναις δολερῆσι τρόποις, κακότητι νομήων.

Ac tum Cecropidis luctum gemitusque ciebit
Jupiter altitonans, rerum cui summa potestas.
Navibus exitium, et crudelia funera bello
Ille feret, culpaque ducum dabit omnia pessum.

Dio, or Xiphiline, mentions a verse, pretended to be a Sibylline oracle, concerning Nero, which was handed about when Nero [c] had burnt the city of Rome; and which, to be sure, was composed after he had killed his mother;

Ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.

Ultimus Æneadum matrem necat induperator.

But, says the historian, it was really fulfilled. Indeed! As if it required divination, to foresee that such a debauched, miserable, odious wretch as Nero would in all probability die without heirs, or be cut off by some conspiracy, and that with him the Julian family would be extinguished! Nero married Sporus; upon which one of the wits of those days observed, that it had been well for mankind, 'si pater ejus Domitius talem duxisset uxorem.'

—ἕτερον λόγιον, ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὄν, ἦδον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο,
Ἔσχατος—

[c] Nero killed his mother, A. D. 59. and burnt the city, A. D. 64.

Καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, εἴ τε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντείῳ τινὶ προλεχθὲν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν. τελευταῖος γὰρ τῶν Ἰουλίων τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου γενομένων ἐμοναρχησε.

'Hunc versum, ut vere Sibyllinum, canere cœperunt,
'Ultimus—
'Id quod accidit, sive vere prædictum divino oraculo, sive afflatu multitudinis ex statu rerum qui tum erat: nam is ultimus ex Julii familia, quæ ab Ænea profecta erat, regnavit.' Xiphil. p. 180. ed. Steph.

I shall conclude this poetical section with an oracle from the Anthologia, and as good an oracle as the Sibyl ever uttered:

Πρὸς τὸν μάντιν Ὄλυμπον Ὀνήσιμος ἦλθ' ὁ παλαιστὴς,
Καὶ πένταθλος Ὕλας, καὶ σταδιεὺς Μενεκλῆς,
Τίς μέλλει νικᾶν αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα, θέλοντες
Γνῶναι· κἀκεῖνος τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνιδὼν,
Πάντες, ἔφη, νικᾶτε, μόνον μή τις σὲ παρέλθῃ,
Καὶ σὲ καταστρέψῃ, καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ.

Thus imitated by Ausonius:

Doctus Hylas cæstu, Phegeus catus arte palæstræ,
Clarus Olympiacis et Lycus in stadiis,
An possent omnes venturo vincere agone,
Hammonem Libyæ consuluere deum.
Sed Deus, ut sapiens, Dabitur victoria vobis
Indubitata quidem, si caveatis, ait,
Ne quis Hylam cæstu, ne quis certamine luctæ
Phegea, ne cursu te, Lyce, prætereat.

THERE is an epistle ascribed to Barnabas: we cannot certainly know by whom it was written.

The first who cites it is Clemens Alexandrinus, who was born about the middle of the second century, and there is a passage in it, which shows that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. We may therefore conclude that it was composed after A. D. 70, and before 180, and probably in the first century.

He says of the temple; Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς, καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται

ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν (ἀνοικοδομοῦσιν) αὐτὸν. 'Nam quia bellum gesserunt, ab hostibus destructum est; nunc vero ipsi hostium ministri illud reædificant.' xvi. He mentions not this destruction as an event which had just then come to pass, but says indefinitely καθηρέθη, as if some time at least were elapsed since that calamity. There is a great conformity between the subject of this epistle and of that to the Hebrews; but a great difference between the epistles, for that to the Hebrews is in all respects superior.

Since the author of this epistle, as it now stands, discovers not himself, and gives no internal mark by which we may find him out, and since the name of Barnabas [d] might be common to other persons, or assumed on purpose, one would willingly take occasion hence to ascribe it to some unknown author, rather than to the apostle Barnabas. If it were really the work of St. Paul's companion, there are internal characters in it, which should incline us to judge that he was not at that time under any particular guidance of the Holy Spirit. The antient Christians judged so, and received it not as a canonical book; which shows also that they were not so very credulous, and so ready to adopt every thing, as they are imagined by some to have been.

Barnabas is supposed by Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and many of the antients, to have been one of the seventy disciples; Tillemont, Hist. Eccl. i. 408. and when he is first mentioned in the Acts, nothing is said to intimate that he was converted after Christ's ascension.

When he preached with Paul, the Pagans of Lystra took him to be Jupiter, and Paul to be Mercurius, whence it might be conjectured that he looked, and that he was, much older than St. Paul; but I dare not lay a stress on this argument. Chrysostom says that he was ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀξιοπρεπὴς, that he had an air which commanded esteem and respect. I fancy that Chrysostom had the same conjecture in his mind, and thought that the Pagans were induced to take Barnabas for Jupiter, from his amiable aspect and majestic countenance, fit for the 'father of gods and men.' Upon the whole, there may be room to suspect either that he

[d] 'Barnabas,' or 'Son of Consolation.'

did not survive the destruction of Jerusalem, or that he was then very old, and 'emeritus,' and not likely to write a long and laboured epistle.

It has been said that Barnabas and Clemens Romanus speak not of miracles as being performed in the church in their time. Suppose it to be true, the same thing might be observed of some epistles in the New Testament, particularly of the epistle to the Hebrews, which were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, when St. Paul and some other apostles were living, and preaching the gospel in various places, 'the Lord working with them, and,' as we may justly suppose, 'confirming the word with signs following.'

Barnabas, ch. xii. says, ἐποίησε γὰρ πάντα ὄφιν δάκνειν αὐτούς. that is: 'God caused all sorts of serpents to bite the people of Israel in the wilderness.' I have sometimes thought that it should be πυρόεντα ὄφιν. Num. xxi 6. 'Misit Dominus in populum serpentes *urentes*, Seraphim; ignitos, as Jerom renders it. The LXX indeed has θανατοῦντας. We translate it 'fiery serpents.' Πυρόεντα ὄφιν, in the singular, for 'fiery serpents,' would be an Hebraism, as ver. 7. 'Ora ut tollat a nobis *serpentem*: but the emendation is uncertain. Justin Martyr, speaking of the same thing, says—ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς ἰοβόλα θηρία, ἐχιδναίτε καὶ ἀσπίδες, καὶ ὀφέων πᾶν γένος, ὁ ἐθανάτου τὸν λαόν. Apol. i. § 60. which favours the received reading in Barnabas. One would almost think that Justin took his πᾶν γένος from Barnabas. Le Clerc thinks that he has found a remark in Justin's Apology borrowed from Barnabas. Bibl. Chois. iii. 391. The Benedictin editor of Justin is of the same opinion, Addend. p. 603.

Valentinus, who made his appearance as a teacher, perhaps about A. D. 140,[d] says; Εἷς δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς· οὗ παρρησία ἡ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ φανέρωσις· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου δύναιτο ἂν ἡ καρδία καθαρὰ γενέσθαι, παντὸς πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἐξωθουμένου τῆς καρδίας· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνοικοῦντα αὐτῇ πνεύματα οὐκ ἐᾷ καθαρεύειν· ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰ ἴδια ἐκτελεῖ ἔργα, πολλάκις ἐνυβριζόντων ἐπιθυμίαις οὐ προσηκούσαις· καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὅμοιόν τι πάσχειν τῷ παιδοκείῳ ἡ καρδία· καὶ

[d] But see Massuet's Dissertation concerning him in Irenæus, in which he places him somewhat earlier.

γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κατατιτρᾶταί τε καὶ ὀρύττεται, καὶ πολλάκις κόπρου πίμπλαται, ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγῶς ἐμμενόντων, καὶ μηδεμίαν πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων τοῦ χωρίου, καθάπερ ἀλλοτρίου καθεστῶτος. τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἡ καρδία, μέχρι μὴ προνοίας τυγχάνει, ἀκάθαρτος οὖσα, πολλῶν οὖσα δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐπισκέψηται αὐτὴν ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς Πατὴρ, ἡγίασται, καὶ φωτὶ διαλάμπει· καὶ οὕτω μακαρίζεται ὁ ἔχων τὴν τοιαύτην καρδίαν, ὅτι ὄψεται τὸν Θεόν. 'Est autem unus Bonus, cujus fiduciâ est ea quæ fit per Filium manifestatio, et per eum solum potest cor fieri mundum, ejecto ex corde omni maligno spiritu. Multi enim in eo habitantes spiritus, id mundum esse non sinunt. Unusquisque autem eorum propria efficit opera, sæpe non convenientibus insultans cupiditatibus. Ac mihi quidem videtur cor non esse absimile diversorio: illud enim perforatur et effoditur, et stercore sæpe repletur, cum homines se petulanter gerant, et locum nihil omnino curent, ut qui sit alienus. Eodem modo cor quoque: cum, quamdiu nulla ejus providentia geritur, sit immundum et multorum dæmonum habitaculum: postquam autem id inviserit, qui solus est bonus Pater, sanctificatum est, et luce resplendet, et sic qui tali est corde præditus, beatur, quoniam Deum videbit.'

This fragment is preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. ii. p. 489. where he stands up for human liberty against the Valentinians, who were a sort of Fatalists, or Predestinarians, and thought themselves to be the only elect. Observe that Valentinus bears witness to the authority of the New Testament, for he takes passages or expressions from it to insinuate and recommend his own doctrines, as υἱοῦ φανέρωσις—δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον—ἐπισκέψηται—μόνος ἀγαθὸς Πατὴρ—φωτὶ διαλάμπει—μακαρίζεται, &c.—ὄψεται Θεόν. See 1 Tim. iii. 16. Rev. xviii. 2. Luke vii. 16. Mat. xix. 17. Luke xi. 36. Mat. v. 8.

He also seems upon the whole to imitate Barnabas, who says, Πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς—ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας, καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμόνων—Διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεός· κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν· πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πιστέως—' Antequam nos Deo crederemus, erat nostrum cordis habitaculum interitui obnoxium et imbecillum—quia erat quidem plenum cultu idolorum, et erat

domus dæmonum,—Quare in domicilio nostro vere Deus existit: habitat in nobis. Quomodo? Verbum ejus fidei—'

CLEMENS ROMANUS is an author on whom I made some remarks, Disc. VI. p. 121. I have only this to add: Clemens Epist. i. 4. says, Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ πατὴρ ἩΜΩΝ Ἰακὼβ ἀπέδρα—'Propter æmulationem pater *noster* Jacobus aufugit'—whence, I find, some persons have lately discovered and concluded that Clemens was a Jew. I think the passage will not prove it. Theophilus ad Autol. iii. 23.—τὰ γράμματα τοῦ θείου νόμου, τοῦ διὰ Μωσέως ἡμῖν δεδομένου. The law was given to *us*, says Theophilus; and yet he had been converted from Paganism to Christianity. Therefore when any antient Christian writers use such expressions, it is not to be inferred thence, with any kind of certainty, that they were of Jewish extraction, or even that they had been proselytes to Judaism. Indeed nothing is more natural than for Christians to speak as if they were Abraham's children; as if the law, and the prophets, and the patriarchs belonged to them as well as to the Jews. In the same book, § 24. Theophilus says, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῶν. 94. Δαυὶδ ὁ πράγονος ἡμῶν. 27. Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ προπάτορος ἡμῶν.

HERMAS is cited by Irenæus, who was born about A. D. 120. He is also observed to have made no mention of miracles; but he had nothing to lead him to it, and his book is taken up with visions and revelations. I offered a conjecture concerning it, that it was a parable. Disc. VI. on the Christ. Rel.

He mentions a vision of a formidable beast threatening to devour him, from which he was preserved; and he interprets this of a great tribulation which was to come upon the Christians, and which some have applied to Domitian's persecution. L. i. Vis. ii. § 2, 3. p. 77. Vis. iv. p. 82.

POLYCARP, of whose epistle I have taken notice, p. 47. suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius with exemplary courage and constancy. His death is said to have been honoured with some miracles, which are of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, that there is some

reason to pause, and to doubt of them. But this shall perhaps be considered in its proper place.

THE Recognitions and the Homilies of CLEMENS, written, as it is thought, in the second century, contain as much truth as Lucian's True History, Aristeas, Gulliver's Travels, the Lives of several Monks, of Lazarillo, of David Simple, and of Gil Blas. It would not be a reasonable request to desire any man to confute this work. It is sufficient to refer the reader to the judgment of Cotelerius, p. 607.

I shall only produce one passage, and none of the worst, for a specimen. Peter is introduced saying, 'Quod cum vidisset Gamaliel princeps populi, qui latenter frater noster erat in fide, sed consilio nostro inter eos erat'—i. 65.

Here this knave of a forger makes Peter, or *Lord Peter*, as he commonly calls him, and the rest of the apostles, mere politicians, who persuade Gamaliel to dissemble his religion, and to act the part of a spy and a hypocrite.

In the Recognitions, ii. 13. Simon Magus is introduced speaking thus: 'Pueri *incorrupti* et violenter necati animam adjuramentis ineffabilibus evocatam adsistere mihi feci, et per ipsam fit omne quod jubeo.' Dr. Middleton thus translates it: 'Simon Magus confessed to one of his companions, that he wrote all his amazing works by the help of the soul of a *healthy* young boy, who had been violently put to death for that purpose, and then called up from the dead by ineffable adjurations, and compelled to be his assistant.' Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. p. 67.

'Pueri incorrupti animam.' In the Greek it was, I suppose, Παιδὸς ἀδιαφθόρου ψυχήν. Justin Martyr calls such children ἀδιαφθόρους, and Socrates the historian ἀφθόρους παῖδας. Justin Apol. i. p. 27. Νεκυομαντεῖαι μὲν γὰρ, καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων ἐποπτεύσεις.—'Necyomantiæ enim, et incorruptorum puerorum inspectiones.'—Socrates iii. 13. Καὶ τελετάς τινας συνίστασαν, ὡς καὶ σπλαγχνοσκοποῦμενοι παῖδας καταθύειν ἀφθόρους—which Valesius translates, 'Quin etiam nefanda quædam mysteria ab illis excogitata sunt; ita ut pueros *impuberes* immolarent, extaque eorum inspicerent—'

I once told Dr. Middleton, that I was inclined to think that in this place 'incorruptus' meant 'impubis' rather than

'sanus.' Ἀδιάφθορος, ἄφθορος, 'incorruptus,' mean properly 'impollutus, expers veneris;' and they are used for 'impubis,' because children are usually 'impolluti.' παῖδα or κόρην διαφθείρειν is 'stuprare.' Ἄφθορος, 'impubes, impollutus, incorruptus, imberbis,' say the Lexica. ἄφθορος παῖς, 'puer imberbis,' Diosc. ii. c. 102. Καὶ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ, ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι. 'Et multi sexus utriusque, et sexaginta et septuaginta nati annos, qui a pueris disciplinam Christi sunt assectati, incorrupti permanent.' Justin Apol. i. 22. ed. Th. ἄφθοροι, 'impolluti, expertes veneris, etiam legitimæ. Qui inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur,' says Minucius, c. xxxi.

Concerning such magical rites, see Broukhusius on Tibullus i. 11. 45. and Fabricius Bibl. Antiqu. p. 417. 419. and Havercamp's Tertullian, Apol. 23. 'Si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt.' Junius thinks that this relates to the sacrificing of children, which kind of divination was called βοιθομαντεία, *pædomantia.*

Amongst the apostolical writers some have placed the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, which has been usually ascribed to Justin Martyr: see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. 58. Tillemont (Hist. Eccl. ii. p. 493.) first declared that he was inclined for some reasons to think it more antient, and written before A. D. 70. He says also that a learned man, whom he names not, had been of that opinion. The last editor of Justin thinks that they are mistaken, as to the antiquity of this epistle, and is in doubt whether it should be ascribed to Justin, or not. Præf. p. lxxiv. Baratier gives it to Clemens Romanus, and Mr. Whiston to Timothy. In this epistle there are many allusions to the New Testament, which Mr. Whiston has marked in the margin of his translation, and there is nothing said concerning any miraculous powers and gifts amongst Christians. It is 'opus eximium et præstantissimum,' says the Benedictin editor; and Baratier and Mr. Whiston are of the same opinion. Diognetus, who is called κράτιστος, was, we may suppose, if he really existed, a man of some rank. His Honour wanted to be informed of the nature of Christianity; and why this new religion was not made known sooner; and for what reasons the Christians

exposed themselves to persecution and to death, neglecting the things of this world, and rejecting the religions of the Greeks and of the Jews. To these queries our author replies in a letter, in which the truth of Christianity is, in a manner, taken for granted, and nothing is urged that was proper to convince and convert an unbeliver: so that Diognetus, if he had been morose and censorious, would have concluded, that this writer had found a new religion, but had lost something else. One would think that the apologist would have mentioned the prophecies of the Old Testament accomplished in Christ, the miracles of Christ and of his apostles, and other proofs of the truth and importance of Christianity. Not at all. He begins with setting forth the folly of worshipping images, and thinking them to be real gods; and this he gives as the reason for which Christians rejected the religion of the Gentiles.

The Jews, says he, though they worship one God, yet offer him sacrifices, as if he stood in need of such gifts, and were to be fed with the steam of victims; they are also superstitious observers of the difference between food clean and unclean, of the sabbath, of circumcision, fasts, feasts, new moons, &c. Therefore we Christians reject the Jewish religion.

What he says on this head is not only too severe upon the Jews, but incautious and injudicious; and, if it proved any thing, would prove more than he intended and was aware of, and bear hard upon the Mosaic law. The same defect may be observed in some arguments of Arnobius upon the same subject.

Then he proceeds to observe that Christians were examples of all that was good, and patient under afflictions and ill usage; that God sent his Son to suffer for men, to redeem and to instruct them, who, before he came, knew not God, and who were grown very wicked; all which, if intended as a sufficient proof of Christianity, was little better than begging the question.

He speaks of the Jews as if at that time they offered up sacrifices, whence some learned men have concluded that he wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem; but the argument is scarcely conclusive, especially when we consider what sort of a writer we have to do with. 'Sacrificia quidem,'

says the Benedictin, 'Judæi offerre desierunt post urbis et templi excidia. Sed tamen cum author epistolæ quid intersit Judæos inter et Christianos exponat, non immerito in Judæis aspernatur cruenta illa animalium sacrificia, quæ et Judaici cultus pars erant insignis, et sibi per vim erepta Judæi, si minus usu, saltem animo et voluntate retinebant. Pluribus aliis contigit Judæos eodem modo exagitare. S. Phileas Martyr de Judæis sic loquitur, Act. Mart. p. 444. 'Solis Judæis præceptum fuerat sacrificare Deo soli in Jerosolyma. Nunc autem peccant Judæi in locis aliis solemnia sua celebrantes,' &c. Præf. p. 75.

I cannot believe that this epistle was written by Justin Martyr; for Justin would have managed the argument better, and have omitted neither the prophecies nor the miracles. The author seems to have been some Gentile converted to Christianity, who had perused Justin's Cohortatio ad Græcos.

Justin begins it thus: Ἀρχόμενος τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς παραινέσεως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εὔχομαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑπάρξαι, τὰ δέοντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν· ὑμᾶς δὲ, τῆς προτέρας ἀφεμένους φιλονεικίας, καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων πλάνης ἀπαλλαγέντας, ἑλέσθαι τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα νυνί. 'Cohortationem apud vos, Græci, instituens, Deum precor, ut mihi quidem apud vos, ut par est, dicere contingat; vos autem pristinam pertinaciam relinquentes, et a majorum discedentes errore, quæ utilia sunt in præsentia eligatis.' This is an imitation of the exordium in the oration of Demosthenes for Ctesiphon: and as Justin imitates Demosthenes, so the writer of the epistle imitates Justin—παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χωρηγοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκοῦσαί [ἀκούσαντά] σε βελτίω γενέσθαι· σοί τε [δὲ] οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα. 'Peto a Deo, qui et loquendi et audiendi nobis facultatem suppeditat, ut ab eo detur, mihi quidem, ita verba facere ut in primis contingat, te, postquam audieris, meliorem evadere; et tibi, ita audire, ut tristitia non afficiatur is qui verba fecerit.'

This is said well enough:

'amphora cœpit
Institui; currente rota, cur urceus exit?'

The epistle has a few chasms, but there seems to be only a little of it that is lost. It was perhaps an exercise, or declamation, addressed to a great man, with whom the author had no acquaintance; as some modern epistles to the Pope, and to Lewis the fourteenth, which were never presented.

As I have had occasion to mention Tillemont, and shall probably often cite him hereafter, I take this opportunity to own my obligations to him for his useful and laborious collections. After this due respect and acknowledgment, I hope it will be permitted to make a few observations, which may do others some good, and can now do him no harm, nor destroy the peace which, I believe, he enjoys in a better world.

His History of the Emperors is very valuable; but he has filled his other books with an account of trifling, absurd, ridiculous miracles.

He never affirms facts without vouchers; but he often makes use of bad ones in his Ecclesiastical History, and builds upon a sandy foundation, upon the testimony of forgers, fanatics, and of interested persons, who write in their own behalf, and want to discredit their adversaries.

He commonly proceeds upon a supposition, that they who have obtained the honour of *ecclesiastical knighthood*, and are called *saints*, are all excellent men, and entirely to be trusted; and that all they who were, or were accounted, *heterodox*, are to be little regarded, and held in bad esteem.

He seems to have been a pious, humble, meek and modest, as well as a very learned and accurate man; and yet he cannot forbear insulting Protestant writers as heretics, even those to whom he and the Christian world had great obligations, as Usher, Pearson, &c. He takes all opportunities, and sometimes goes out of his way to seek opportunities of inculcating the horrible doctrine, that the very best of Pagans, heretics, and schismatics, are condemned to suffer eternal tortures. Speaking of young Tiberius, who was murdered by order of the emperor Caius, and compelled by the soldiers, as Philo relates it, to thrust a sword into his own body, he concludes the melancholy tale with this reflection:—'Thus by his own hand he ended his

miserable life, to begin another, the misery of which will never end.' Hist. des Emp. i. p. 142. Observe, that this unhappy youth was then but nineteen years of age; that he had been bred up at court under Tiberius, in a sort of genteel prison; that probably he had never heard Christianity even mentioned; and that history relates no one bad thing concerning him: so that the Pagan ignorance of this poor child was altogether invincible, and might have been thought sufficient to qualify him at least for Purgatory.

'Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum!'

It is remarkable, that in the little edition of Tillemont the passage stands thus: 'he ended his miserable life.' What follows was added afterwards in the quarto edition, whence we may learn that the good man, as he grew older, grew more uncharitable in his religious notions. The apophthegm of Horace is not always true:

'Lenit albescens animos capillus.'

The hoary heads of some persons are like Mount Ætna, where the snow and the fire dwell together in strict friendship.

'Sed, quamvis nimio fervens exuberet æstu,
Scit nivibus servare fidem——'

Claudian Rapt. Pros. i. 165.

These are some of the doctrines which have unhappily helped to propagate atheism or deism, and have made many a man say to himself, 'If this be Christianity, let my soul be with the philosophers.'

The old Christians were more charitable, and had nobler sentiments of the divine benignity. Justin Martyr, in his Apology, i. 46. speaks handsomely of Socrates, and of other worthy men in the Pagan world, and represents them as a sort of Christians, and doubtless entertained favourable thoughts of their future state. Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε· καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες, Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν. οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς—ὥστε καὶ οἱ προγενόμενοι ἄνευ λόγου βιώ-

σαντες, ἄχρηστοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἦσαν, καὶ φονεῖς τῶν μετὰ λόγου βιούντων· οἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες καὶ βιοῦντες, Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἄφοβοι, καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι. 'Christum primogenitum Dei esse ac rationem illam, cujus omne hominum genus particeps est, didicimus, et supra declaravimus. Et qui cum ratione vixerunt, Christiani sunt, etiamsi athei existimati sint; quales apud Græcos fuere Socrates et Heraclitus, iisque similes.—Similiter qui olim absque ratione vixere, improbi et Christo inimici fuere, et eorum qui cum ratione vivebant, homicidæ. Qui vero cum ratione vixerunt et vivunt, Christiani sunt, atque impavidi atque intrepidi.' Ed. Paris. 1742. Now turn to the Preface, p. xxxii. and see the Benedictin editor, fighting for a theological system which has nothing at all to do with an edition of Justin; and taking great pains to clear the good father from the shameful imputation of supposing that a virtuous Pagan might be saved, as well as a monk. What will the Benedictin say for Clemens Alexandrinus? This learned and good-natured father was of opinion that Christ and his apostles preached the gospel in Hades to the dead, and that the souls which repented and believed were received to favour: ἐπεὶ σωτήριοι, καὶ παιδευτικαὶ αἱ κολάσεις[a] τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν ἄγουσαι, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν θάνατον αἱρούμεναι· καὶ ταῦτα καθαρώτερον διορᾶν δυναμένων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένων ψυχῶν, κἂν πάθεσιν ἐπισκοτῶνται, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ΕΠΙΠΡΟΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ σαρκίῳ. 'Sunt enim salutares, et quæ erudiunt, Dei castigationes, adducentes ad conversionem, et potius pœnitentiam peccatoris eligentes quam mortem: idque præcipue cum possint animæ purius perspicere, quæ sunt liberæ a corporibus, etiamsi obscurentur perturbationibus, eo quod non se amplius eis opponat et impediat caruncula.'

I think it should be,—ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι σαρκίῳ, 'obnubi-

[a] Διαφέρει δὲ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κόλασις τοῦ πάσχοντος ἕνεκά ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία τοῦ ποιοῦντος· says Aristotle. In Xenophon. Oecon terra κολάζεται, i. e. *emendatur*. See A. Gellius vi. 14. Θεὸς δὲ οὐ τιμωρεῖται· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία, κακοῦ ἀνταπόδοσις· κολάζει μέντοι πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς κολαζομένοις. Clemens Strom. vii. p. 895. Origen was of the same opinion, and perhaps carried it somewhat further.

lari,' from ἐπιπροσθέω. 'For the corrections of God are salutary, and instructive, leading to amendment, and preferring the repentance to the death of a sinner; and souls in their separate state, though obumbrated with perturbations, yet have a clearer discernment than they had whilst they were in the body, as they are no longer clouded and encumbered with the flesh.' Strom. vi. p. 764. See also p. 794, and the notes.

In the Epistles of Ignatius there is a harshness of style, but a lively spirit, and a noble enthusiasm, especially in that to the Romans.

He tells the Ephesians that he had a design to write them another letter, and to instruct them in some points, μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ Κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ, 'especially if the Lord should reveal *any thing* to me.' Whence it seems not improbable that he had been favoured with some revelations. xx.

The same inference may be made from these words to the Philadelph. vii. 'When I exhorted you to adhere to your bishop, presbyters, and deacons, some of you suspected that I had been informed of dissensions amongst you,' μάρτυς δέ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. 'Testis autem mihi est, in quo vinctus sum, quod a carne humana non cognoverim; sed Spiritus annunciavit, dicens ista; Sine episcopo nihil facite.'

Ad Rom. vii. Ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ, πῦρ φιλόϋλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον, δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. 'Vivens enim scribo vobis, amore captus moriendi. Meus amor crucifixus est; et non est in me ignis amans materiæ. Sed aqua vivens et loquens in me, intus mihi dicit; Veni ad Patrem.'

There is in this something very sublime and pathetic. The expression ὕδωρ λαλοῦν, resembles the *vocales undæ* which inspired the poets and prophets. Statius Silv. i. ii. 6.

'Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.'

An oracle of Apollo Delphicus, given to Julian, and preserved by Cedrenus:

Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
Οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

'Dicite regi, humi cecidit elegans aula.
Non amplius Phœbus habet casam, non vaticinatricem laurum,
Non fontem loquentem, extincta est etiam garrula aqua.'

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian's compassion, deplores the silence of his oracles, and of the *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon, xiii.

Οἱ δὲ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις
Δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου
Λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ
Μεμηνότες βοῶσιν.

'Nec non aquam bibentes
Apollinis loquacem
Ripis Clari, furore
Acti subinde clamant.'

'Vetus interpres (says Cotelerius), "Et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam: sed vivens et loquens est in me." Hoc est Græce; Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦν τι ὕδωρ· ζῶν δὲ καὶ λαλοῦν, aut λαλούμενον ἐν εμοί. In interpolata, Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦν τι· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί. "Et non est in me ignis qui aliquid amet: sed aqua viva, intra me saliens." Ex antiquo interprete; "Et non est in me, aqua autem alia viva manet in me." Legebat quippe ἄλλο et μένει, loco ἀλλόμενον: et omisit quæ non intelligebat. Apud Metaphrastem, quem sequuntur Græci in Menæo; Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόϋλον· ὕδωρ δὲ μᾶλλον ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. "Et non est in me ignis amans materiæ; aqua vero potius vivens et loquens in me." Perplaceret mihi; Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόϋλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί. Nam φιλόϋλον Jolianus Ignatii interpolati codex retinuit. ἀλλόμενον autem confirmatur per illud Johannis iv. 14. τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. "Aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam." Græci conjunctim; Οὐκ ἔσχες πῦρ φιλόϋλον ἐν

σοὶ, Ἰγνάτιε· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν μᾶλλον καὶ λαλοῦν, δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὕδωρ τὸ ἀλλόμενον, τὸ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν μετοχετεύον ἡμᾶς.

Le Clerc says, 'Est in exemplari Græco, πῦρ φιλόϋλον. Ignis materialis est φιλόϋλος, *amans materiæ*; quâ nempe alitur. Sed spiritualis ignis, quo urebatur Ignatius, *materiæ*, hoc est, rerum corporearum, amans non erat. Quod est nonnihil coactum, ut et sequentia de *aquâ in eo loquente*. Sed sancti viri sermo refertus est ejusmodi violentis adlusionibus.'

The λαλοῦν ὕδωρ must not be altered: it is sufficiently confirmed by the citations of Cotelerius in this very note where he is inclined to reject it; and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined.

Ignatius, who was a Syrian, and bishop of Antioch, was well acquainted with the oracle of Apollo Daphnæus, and with the *Castalian fountain*, which were at his door, and which are frequently mentioned by ecclesiastical writers. Sozomen in his description of Daphne says, Ἦν γὰρ ἐνθάδε Δαφναίου Ἀπόλλωνος περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα, καὶ νεὼς μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξειργασμένος—ἐπιστεύετο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τάδε πρεσβεύουσι, ῥεῖν αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ μαντικὸν ἀπὸ Κασταλίας τῆς πηγῆς, ὁμοίως τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐνεργείας τε καὶ προσηγορίας λαχούσης. 'Erat enim illic Apollinis Daphnæi pulcherrimum simulacrum et templum magnifice atque ambitiose constructum.—Credebatur etiam ab illis qui ista colunt et prædicant, aquam illic divinatricem fluere ex fonte Castalio, qui idem nomen eandemque efficaciam haberet, quam ille Delphicus.' v. 19.

Ignatius therefore opposes to the *speaking prophetic waters* of the Pagans, the *living waters* mentioned by our Lord in John iv. 14, which *speak* better and nobler things than the fabulous and poetic fountains. The interpolator, who could not put himself in the place of Ignatius, and had not the same thoughts and images which arose in the mind of the martyr, flung away ὕδωρ λαλοῦν, the *speaking water*, which he understood not, and for which he had no taste, and put in ὕδωρ ἁλλόμενον, to make it a closer copy from St. John.

In the interpolated epistle πῦρ φιλοῦν τι is absurd; but φιλόϋλον πῦρ makes good sense. He who in this passage,

which we have been examining, can prefer the *larger* to the *shorter* epistle, must be a critic, who, of different expressions, likes the worst the best, and should be fed with chaff.

They who contend for the *larger* epistles would do well to weigh one thing, which they never seem to think of, namely, that, whilst they want to support I know not what, they are hurting the reputation of an apostolical father, whom they have in great esteem: for if the passages which I have already pointed out, and those which others have censured, could be showed to be genuine, Ignatius would be much less valued than he is by men of sense and judgment. But though the shorter epistles be, on many accounts, preferable to the larger, yet I will not affirm that they have undergone no alteration.

IGNATIUS suffered under Trajan about the beginning of the second century. Here was a good man put to death by a good emperor: but the Pagans then began to perceive that Christianity, if it prevailed, would prove the ruin of their religion; and some of them probably persuaded Trajan to act contrary to his disposition, which was mild and placable. Pliny, in his Epistle to that emperor, says, that in his province the temples had been, in a manner, deserted, sacrificing left off, and the worship of the gods neglected. Trajan forbad the Christians to be sought after, and yet ordered them to be punished if convicted. 'O sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos, ut innocentes; et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes.—Quid temet ipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis?' Thus Tertullian, in his Apologetic, inveighs, ingeniously enough, against the inconsistency and absurdity of this sentence, and has had the good fortune to engage most of his readers in the same way of thinking; and yet, after all, the emperor's decree was not quite so absurd as Tertullian imagined. Trajan had no hatred towards the men, and pitied their case, but disliked the religion for the reason above mentioned; therefore he was willing to treat the Christians gently, but would neither repeal the laws to which they were obnoxious, nor give them leave to exercise their religion freely.

Ignatius expressed an earnest desire to suffer for the sake

of Christ, and a great joy at the expectation of it; but it appears not that he rashly sought or provoked danger. To him might be applied[a] these lines of Lucan, which suit him as if they were made for him:

'Projeci vitam, comites, totusque futuræ
Mortis agor stimulis.—Agnoscere solis
Permissum est, quos jam tangit vicinia fati,
Victurosque Dei celant, ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.'

He speaks of himself with modesty and humility; he exhorts the Christians to live peaceably together, and to pay a high regard to their bishops and pastors; and has gone too far in his expressions: but it is something of an excuse for him, that the state of the times led him to it. It was to be feared lest the heretics, who in those days were vile persons, should seduce the unwary; and mutual quarrels might have proved fatal to the common cause. A house ill cemented, and beaten with the storms of persecution, could not have stood.

In his Epistle to the Romans he desires them not to interpose, and by any ways endeavour to preserve him from martyrdom; and he says that the wild beasts had feared and refused to touch some[b] who had been thrown to them, which he hoped would not happen to him: ἃ [θήρια] καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὡσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαντο[c]. 'Quas et blanditiis demulcebo, ut citius me devorent; non ut quosdam veritæ non attigerunt.' v. So afterwards, when Blandina was exposed, none of the beasts would kill her, says Eusebius, who took it from an authentic history of the martyrs of Lyons in Gaul. v. 1. In Diocletian's persecution, Eusebius was eye-

[a] Le Clerc Hist. Eccl. p. 566.

[b] I know not whether Ignatius had in view any Christian martyrs, or Daniel who was cast into the den of lions.

[c] In Ignatius and Eusebius it is ἥψαντο. Stephanus reads ἥψατο, which probably is right, because—μὴ θέλῃ follows. But, as to the rule in our grammars, 'Neutra pluralia gaudent verbo singulari,' there are abundance of exceptions to it, particularly in the Scriptures. See in the LXX, Genes. xlviii. 6. Isai. lxiv. 3. Zach. xiii. 7. and Matth. vi. 26. x. 21. Marc. v. 13. xiii. 12. Luc. xxiv. 11. Joh. x. 8. Revel. xxi. 4. Homer. Il. T. 29.

—μή τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῇσι μελέντων.

witness to such a thing; and somewhat of this kind is related in the Acts of Perpetua. This forbearance of the beasts, though it did not save the lives of the martyrs, yet it animated and comforted the distressed Christians; it reproved the Pagans for their worse[e] than brutish cruelty; and it might possibly be the happy occasion of converting some, who might be inclined to say at such a sight,

'—non hæc sine numine Divûm
Eveniunt.'

If the lions had been let loose upon Ignatius in the amphitheatre, and had retired and left him unhurt, or fawned upon him, the spectators might possibly have been moved of themselves, or incited by his friends, who were present, to beg the life, or at least the reprieve, of a venerable old man, whom the very brutes had spared, and who seemed protected by Heaven; and such kind of favours were seldom refused to those assemblies. Thus Androcles was saved by the good offices of his old and grateful friend, the lion; and had his life, and liberty, and the lion given to him, at the request of the people. A. Gellius, v. 14. 'Populi in arenâ præcipuum jus,' says Lipsius, 'et ad ejus voluntatem domini plerumque se conformabant.' Saturn. ii. 22. The emperor, it will be said, had condemned him to the lions. But what then? If the lions would not kill him, the magistrate might without offence, if he had been so disposed, have respited the martyr's death till the emperor's further pleasure should be known.

It must be confessed after all, that such wonders are somewhat ambiguous, because wild beasts are not always in a fighting humour, and might be terrified by the strangeness of the place and noise of the populace; and therefore we find that they sometimes used fire, and whips, and other methods to irritate them: but even these methods were tried in vain, says Eusebius, speaking of what happened to his own knowledge.

Josephus relates that one of the Ptolemies exposed the Jews of Ægypt (in the Hippodrome) to be killed by his elephants, whom he had intoxicated with wine, to make

[e] 'Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne ferarum.'

them more furious; but the beasts, instead of assaulting the poor Jews, turned upon the spectators, and destroyed many of them. This, and some terrible appearance, so frightened the king, that he acknowledged the divine interposition, and set them free, and conferred many favours on them. Josephus adds, that the Jews of Alexandria kept a day in commemoration of this deliverance. Contr. Apion. ii. 5. See also Maccab. iii. 3, 4, 5. and Prideaux, Connect. ii. p. 86. fol. ed.[f]

It was not necessary that the Christians should be miraculously saved; the favours promised to them by their Master were of another kind: Jesus Christ would not save himself from crucifixion; but he struck those to the ground who came to seize him; and the troubled elements bare witness to his dignity and to his innocence. St. Stephen's martyrdom was also attended with miraculous circumstances. It is therefore no insuperable objection to any wonders which are related to have accompanied the death of the martyrs, that they did not preserve the sufferers. If indeed they are not well attested, or if they appear to have been of the trifling useless kind, and void of all *moral import*; if milk instead of blood flowed from their wounds, and sweet odours issued from the faggots, and pigeons flew out of their mouths, the case is altered, and there is some reason to doubt of such miracles. So again: if a monk smelt like a civet-cat when he was dead, who smelt like a pole-cat when he was alive, this can hardly pass for a proper and sufficient proof of his sanctity.

The repeated wish of Ignatius was, that he might be torn to pieces and eaten up, that, as he says, he might give no one the trouble of paying him funeral rites.

> 'Vota suos habuere deos'—

His wish was accomplished; and of his body very little was left undevoured.

The account of his martyrdom, in the Patres Apostolici, vol. ii. p. 157. has the appearance of being genuine, except the last section, which contains the *dreams* of his friends,

[f] To this it will perhaps be said, that it is no marvel if a *drunken beast* turned upon his driver.

and which might possibly be added by another hand. See Le Clerc.

They who reject all the epistles of Ignatius as spurious, reject also the account of his martyrdom. It is inconceivable, say they, that Trajan should have sent an old man by land, at a great expense, attended with soldiers, from Syria to Rome, instead of casting him to the lions at Antioch: it is also improbable, that when he was thus guarded and conducted, he should have been permitted to converse with the Christians, and to give them instructions, and to write epistles, in the several cities through which he passed. The answer is obvious:

Trajan sent him by land, on purpose to show him about, and to make an example of him as of a ring-leader of the sect, παραδειγματίζειν, and to deter the Christians from preaching and spreading their religion; and for the same reason he sent him to be executed at Rome, where there were many Christians, and which, as it was the capital of the world, so was it the head-quarters of all sorts of religions. 'Repressa in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque.' Tacitus Ann. xv. 44. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes, that though there were six hundred nations, which, in a manner, had taken up their abode at Rome, each of which had its own sacred rites, yet no foreign religion had been publicly received by the Romans, or at least not till they had purged and corrected it, and rendered it conformable to their own.

In the time of Trajan, Christianity had made such a progress, that the Romans were jealous, and uneasy at it.

The soldiers who had the custody of Ignatius made a considerable advantage of him; and, as we observed before, took money of the Christians for the small indulgence which they showed to their prisoner, and would have been glad that he had written a hundred epistles, if they could have obtained a present for each.

TRAJAN had many excellent qualities; and Pope Gregory[a] is said to have prayed his soul out of hell, though

[a] Bayle's Dict. *Trajan.*

Tillemont seems to give no credit to the story, since he passes it by in silence, and pronounces a sentence of reprobation[b] upon the emperor. Amongst other commendable things which Trajan did, he relaxed the tribute called *vicesima*, so as to make it less burdensome.

Dio Cassius says that Augustus established a treasury for the payment of the army; and upon a deficiency, many ways being proposed by the senators, and all of them rejected, he fixed upon this expedient, which seems to have been of his own contriving, though he fathered it upon Julius Cæsar, that a *twentieth* should be paid into the treasury of all inheritances, and legacies bequeathed by will, from which however he exempted those who were near of kin; he also excepted those who were poor, by which I suppose was meant, that when the inheritance was small and under a certain value, and the inheritor also was poor, nothing was demanded. See Dio, L. lv. p. 566.

Augustus contributed largely to this fund out of his own income; and as he had many legacies left him, he must have often paid his *twentieth*. However, the Romans, as Dio tells us afterwards, were excessively uneasy at this tax, till Augustus, by convincing them that a better could not be contrived, and by putting them in fear of something worse, persuaded them to be quiet. L. lvi. p. 588.

Thus it continued, and the younger Pliny, a very competent judge, and a very honest man, mentions it, not without approbation, as one of those necessary evils, which was the least oppressive. 'The twentieth,' says he, 'is a tax tolerable enough, and easy to the inheritor, if he be not related to the deceased, but very hard if he be near of kin:' and he commends Nerva and Trajan for mitigating this law in favour of new-made citizens, who, it seems, had been obliged to pay the twentieth, howsoever related to the testator; as also for moderating it in some other instances, which deserve to be perused. Paneg. ch. 37. &c.

When a person died intestate, it is to be supposed that the

[b] Ses cendres furent reçeus à Rome en triomphe, dans un char sur lequel on avoit mis son image: et l'on a encore des marques de ce triomphe, si lugubre pour tout le monde, et surtout pour celui qu'on vouloit relever par ces honneurs imaginaires, et que le vray Dieu punissoit dans les enfers, &c. Hist. des Emp. tom. ii. p. 205.

heir-at-law was subject to the same tax, if he came not within the degrees of relation which were exempted.

This tribute must have amounted to a prodigious sum; for the Roman empire was of a vast extent, the nobility and gentry were very rich, and often had no children to inherit their fortunes, and the arts of flattering the rich by those who were called *heredipetæ*, *legacy-hunters*, were much practised at Rome; so that many legacies were continually left to friends, to companions in iniquity, to freed-men and parasites: and this, by the way, suggests one reason, not observed by Dio, why much clamour was made at Rome against the tax.

What made the taxes in general heavy to the Romans, and to the nations which were in subjection to them, was, that they were farmed and collected by the publicans, a sort of sharpers, who were troublesome every where, especially in the remoter provinces; so that the government was forced, from time to time, to pare their nails, and to browbeat them, and to make laws, in some of which they are set out in sorry colours. See Digest. L. xxxix. tit. iv. 12.

Whether this method deserve any notice and consideration, is submitted to those whom it concerns.

APPENDIX.

I.

I REFERRED the reader, p. 244, to the visions of Rice Evans, as containing some things not unworthy of notice. Mr. Warburton has given me the following remarks on the man, and on his predictions; and the bishop of Bangor[a], and he, have been willing to appear as my friends and my coadjutors in this work.

" Ibit et hoc nostri per sæcula fœdus amoris,
Doctorumque inter nomina nomen ero:
Forsan et extinctum non spernet patria dulcis,
Forsitan et dicet, Tu quoque noster eras.
Talibus inferiis placabilis umbra quiescet,
Lenibunt manes talia dona meos.
Interea labor ipse levat fastidia vitæ:
Æterno rectum sub duce pergat iter!
Scriptores sancti, salvete, et cana vetustas;
Salve, Musa, nimis blanda tenaxque comes:
Tu puero teneris penitus dilecta sub annis;
Tune etiam emerito cura futura viro?
Ne tamen æternum, mœsta atq. irata, recede,
Sed raro, sed vix sæpe rogata, veni.
Hæc, Fortuna, tuis non sunt obnoxia regnis,
Livor in hæc poterit juris habere nihil."

'You desired to have a more particular account of a certain prophecy of one Rice Evans, which you have heard some of your friends speak of in terms of astonishment: as I have his book, which is scarce, I am able to give you that satisfaction. But it may not be amiss first to let you into the character of the prophet. Rice Evans lived and flourished in the last century, during the time of our civil

[a] Whose dissertation on the destruction of Jerusalem is inserted above, p. 202—207.

confusions. He was a warm Welshman, and not disposed to be an idle spectator in so busy a scene. So he left his native country for London; and finding, on his arrival there, that *inspiration* was all running one way, he projected to make a diversion of it from the Round-heads to the Cavaliers, and set up for a prophet of the royalists. He did and said many extraordinary things to the grandees of both parties: and, it must be owned, he had a spice of what we seldom find wanting in the ingredients of a modern prophet,—I mean *prevarication.* Of this he has himself given us a notable example in the forty-second page of his tract, called An Eccho from Heaven, &c. which, because it contains an uncommon fetch of wit, I shall transcribe. "There are two confessions," says he, "subscribed by my hand in the city of London; which if not now, in after-ages will be considered. The one was made at the Spittle, and subscribed with the *right-hand*, in the aforesaid vestry, before Sir Walter Earl; and that is a confession made by the inner man, or new man. The other confession is a confession of the flesh, called the outward man, or old man; and the confession I made before Green [the recorder], and subscribed with the *left-hand*, as the difference in the writing, being compared, will make it appear. I know the Bench and the people thought I recanted; but, alas! they were deceived."

'Well, but this very man has in the 77th and 78th pages of this Eccho, printed for the author in 12mo, and sold at his house in Long-alley, in Black-friers, 1653, second edition, with additions, a prophecy which astonishes all who carefully consider it. It is in these words:

"A vision that I had presently after the king's death.

"I thought that I was in a great hall, like the shire-hall, in the castle in Winchester; and there was none there but a judge that sat upon the bench, and myself; and as I turned to a window north-westward, and looking into the palm of my hand, there appeared to me a face, head and shoulders, like the lord Fairfaxes, and presently it vanished again; then arose the lord Cromwel, and he vanished likewise; then arose a young face, and he had a crown upon his head, and he vanished also; and another young face arose with a crown on his head, and he vanished also; and

another young face arose with a crown upon his head, and he vanished also; and another young face arose with a crown upon his head, and vanished in like manner: And as I turned the palm of my hand back again to me, and looked, there did appear no more in it. Then I turned to the judge, and said to him, There arose in my hand seven, and five of them had crowns; but when I turned my hand, the blood turned to its veins, and there appeared no more: so I awoke.

"The interpretation of this vision is, that after the lord Cromwell there shall be kings again in England; which thing is signified unto us by those that arose after him, who were all crowned; but the generations to come may look for a change of the blood, and of the name in the royal seat after five kings reigne once passed." 2 Kings x. 30.

'[The words referred to in this text are these: "And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well, &c. thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel."]

'The restoration of the monarchy is here plainly predicted; together with the crown's passing from the house of Stewart into another family. But the prophet at first sight appears to be doubtful about the number of reigns before that event. He reckons up in his hand only *four* successions to the monarchy, yet in his speech to the judge he calls them *five*: in his interpretation he says the change shall be after the reign of *five* kings; and yet referring, in conclusion, to a text in the second book of Kings, we are brought back again to the number *four*. But it is this very circumstance which makes the prodigious part of this affair. A good guesser (who, an antient writer says, is the best prophet) might reasonably conjecture the monarchy, after the subverter of it, Cromwell, was taken off, would be restored; and if it continued in the same family for *four* or *five* generations, that was as much as, in the ceaseless revolutions of human affairs, could be expected. But we shall find there was something more in this matter. The succession of the house of Stewart, during the course of these *four* generations, was disturbed; and that circumstance our prophet has distinctly marked out. The *four* crowned heads he saw in his hand denote Charles the Second, James

the Second, queen Mary, and queen Anne. They are afterwards called *five:* and so they were; for king William the Third shared the sovereignty with queen Mary, and reigned alone after her. But he being of another family, when the *succession* in the house of Stewart is reckoned up, he could not be numbered: so they must be there called *four*. When the prophet reckons the *reigns*, king William comes in, and then they are called *five*. The key to this explanation is the text he concludes with:—"Thy children of the *fourth* generation shall sit on the throne."

'A great and extraordinary genius, lately deceased, struck with this wonderful coincidence, hath written with his own hand, in the margin of the page, these words, "A manifest prophecy." You know who I mean. But every one must judge for himself, unless (which I had rather) you would give us your own sentiments upon it.

'But now my hand is in, as you have had one of his *visions*, you shall have a *dream* too, as he tells it in the 12th page of the first, and the 8th page of his second edition.—"My heart was for London, and as one Mr. Oliver Thomas preached, Cant. ii. 10. Arise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; my heart was allured with it, that I thought it was a hastening of me to London; and at that time, in a dream, methought I was on Islington-hill by the water-house, and London appeared before me as if it had been burnt with fire, and there remained nothing of it but a few stone walls: but I made nothing of this dream."

'Whosoever reflects upon what we are told by Burnet in the History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 231. of the condition in which the works were put at the water-house at Islington, when the fire of London happened, cannot but think Evans' making this the scene of his dream a very unaccountable circumstance. His telling us that *he made nothing of this dream*, adds to the credit of his relation.'

It is observable, that in the first edition, printed in the year 1652, Evans reckons up *five*, not *four* young faces in his hand, and he concludes only thus:

'All that I apprehend by this vision is, that after the lord Cromwell we shall have a king again in England.'

My thoughts are the same with Mr. Warburton's, that

the visions of Evans are a curiosity deserving to be known, but not a foundation to build any thing upon. If there be in them any forgery, which the difference between the first and second editions once inclined me to suspect, they who can detect it, will oblige us and many others by the discovery.

Evans says, p. 16. of edit. 1652—'being perfectly awake—a voice—said to me, Go to thy book, whereupon—I suddenly started up, and to the table I went, where my Bible lay open; immediately fastening my eyes upon Ephes. v. 14. being these words, "Wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light," &c. The same thing he did at other times. Evans, who was illiterate, little thought that he was practising a kind of divination in great request amongst the Pagans, and the antient Jews and Christians, who had recourse to their *Sortes Homericæ*, *Virgilianæ*, *Evangelicæ*, and *Biblicæ*. The same causes produce the same effects; and nothing is more like one enthusiast, mystic, cabbalist, or quietist, than another.

II.

OF THE SADDUCEES.

To * * * *.

SIR,

I HAVE joined myself with those who think that the Sadducees did not reject the prophets, or at least, that we cannot prove them to have been guilty of this fault. You incline to the contrary side, which throws me into a state of doubting, as I have, in general, a better opinion of your skill and judgment than of my own; but permit me to produce some further reasons for my sentiment.

The question, you think, is determined by Josephus, and I am very willing to appeal to him. Let us hear what he says to it:

—Νόμιμα πολλά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὰ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκ-

Φάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν. καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γενέσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας.—

'The Pharisees have delivered to the people many precepts from the tradition of the fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for this reason the Sadducees reject them, saying, that those are only to be accounted statutes and precepts which are written, and that those which are delivered down by tradition are not to be regarded; and upon this subject they have had perpetual disputations and great contentions.' Ant. xiii. x. 6.

Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι· φυλακῆς δὲ οὐδαμῶν τινῶν μεταποίησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦσιν.

'The Sadducees hold that the soul and body perish together, and think themselves bound to observe nothing besides the laws; but judge it right and commendable to dispute against the teachers of what is called wisdom.' Ant. xviii. i. 4.

Σοφία here is rabbinical, pharisaical, traditionary *wisdom*, and its professors and doctors were called σοφοὶ, *chachams*. *Wisdom* is the doctrine of the Jewish schools and synagogues.

1. The Sadducees, says Josephus, observe the laws, and nothing else. Now νόμος and νόμοι, though strictly they mean *the law of Moses*, yet sometimes include *the prophets* in Jewish phrase; as John x. 34.—'Is it not written in your law, I said ye are gods?' that is, in the Psalms. And again, xv. 25. 'that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause.' In their *law*, that is, in the Psalms. St. Paul, after having cited the Psalms, subjoins, 'Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith,' &c. Rom. iii. 9.

2. Josephus says, that the Sadducees observed *only* the laws, that is, if you please, the laws of Moses. Be it so; but this *only* is plainly opposed by him to the *unwritten law*, and therefore the prophets seem to be out of the question. The Pharisees, on the other hand, delivered precepts which were not written in the laws of Moses; and I add, nor in the prophets neither.

In the controversy between these two sects, the Sadducees did right in rejecting the oral and traditionary law, and our Saviour decided it on their side; which also made them the more favourable to him during his ministry.

3. 'The Sadducees received no precepts besides those which were contained in the law; therefore they rejected the prophets.' I deny the consequence, for this reason, that there are in the prophets no νόμοι and νόμιμα, no *laws*, no *statutes*, no *articles* of Jewish faith, no *fundamentals*, which are not contained, either explicitly or implicitly, in the law of Moses. The prophets were not, properly speaking, legislators, but enforcers of the Mosaic system.

4. Josephus had no love for the Sadducees, and gives them a bad character; and had no reason to fear them, and was not at all disposed to spare them. If they had rejected the prophets, he would have charged them with it expressly, and not have left us to collect it from oblique hints and dark intimations. 'Tantamne rem tam negligenter!' It is inconceivable.

5. The sacred writers of the New Testament, who have spoken of the Sadducees in many places, and have given us an account of their errors, have also omitted the mention of this capital one. Strange indeed! To this must be added the silence of the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Recognitions of Clemens, in which the Sadducees are censured for denying the resurrection of the dead, but not for rejecting the prophets.

6. Josephus, writing against Apion, mentions the sacred books which were received by his nation, and boasts of the religious and uncommon care with which they had been preserved, and of the universal and uniform respect paid to them by the Jews, by *all* and *every* Jew; and consequently by Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. If it had not been so, the friends of Apion, and the adversaries of Josephus, and of the poor Jewish nation, would have said to the historian, 'Thou art an audacious romancer, to talk with such confidence and effrontery of this *uniform consent*, when a whole sect of thy countrymen reject all those books, the Pentateuch excepted.'

Here was the proper place for Josephus to mention the

Sadducees with ignominy, as despisers of the prophets, and little better than apostates.

Δύο δὲ μόνα (εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν) πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βίβλια— τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα.—δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ πῶς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν· τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳχηκότος, οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν. ΠΑΣΙ δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙΣ, τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως.

'Duo duntaxat et viginti sunt apud nos libri—qui merito creduntur divini.—Quanta porro veneratione libros nostros prosequamur, reipsa apparet. Cum enim tot jam sæcula effluxerint, nemo adhuc nec adjicere quicquam illis, nec demere, aut mutare aliquid est ausus. Sed *omnibus Judæis* statim ab ipso nascendi exordio hoc insitum atque innatum est, *Dei* ut hæc esse *præcepta* credamus, iisdemque constanter adhærescamus, ut eorum causa, si opus fuerit, libentissime mortem perferamus.' i. 8.

7. The Sadducees lay under no temptation to discard the prophets; for the traditions which they opposed and hated were not grounded on the prophets, but on the oral law, and the decrees of the fathers. If a future state had been so taught by any prophet as to leave them no room for doubts and evasions, they might have been induced to decline his authority; but there is nothing of that kind in the sacred books which they did not think themselves able to shuffle or explain away, without having recourse to the desperate expedient of condemning those books. The truth is, that the Sadducees had as poor disputants as themselves to deal with; and contended with adversaries who knew not how to urge the proper arguments from reason and revelation, and from historical facts contained in the Scriptures in favour of the permanency of the soul, and a future state.

8. The Sadducees conformed to the Pharisees in many things, says Josephus, for fear of the people. If they had struck any of the sacred books out of the canon, it would not have been endured; for they could not reject the prophets without treating them as *liars* and *impostors*. In this case there can be no *medium*. Whosoever speaks as a

prophet in the name of the Lord, must be a sacred messenger, or a vile deceiver. If the Sadducees had dared to treat David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. in this manner, the people would have stoned them as blasphemers; at the least, they certainly would not have held communion with them as they did.

9. They knew that Moses had promised a succession of inspired teachers, and had left Joshua for his prophetic successor.

10. They, like the rest of the Jews, had no right to their own lands but by prophetic appointment; and if they rejected the book of Joshua, they rejected the charter by which they held them. They had no claim to the priesthood (and yet some of them were priests) but by their genealogies, which stood partly upon prophetic authority.

11. It hath been the temper of all people, it was more particularly the temper of the Jews, to honour and reverence their ancestors. One cannot suppose, unless there were overbearing evidence for it, that the Sadducees accounted their whole history, and all their own annals, from their entrance into Canaan, to have been a bundle of fictions; and their forefathers, from Joshua to Malachi, to have been made up of two sorts of men, of deceivers who pretended to prophecy, and of dupes who were deluded by them. The very Pagans believed more than this, and paid more regard than this to the Jewish prophets, of whom some had been consulted, protected, and honoured by neighbouring princes.

12. The Sadducees, you will perhaps say, admitted what was *historic*, and discarded what was *didactic* in the sacred books; but see what follows: The Sadducees believed a God, and admitted his government, and a general providence rewarding and punishing the Jewish nation, according as the people observed or neglected the law of Moses. Now add to this, that they rejected the prophets, and from such a system it must have followed, that God suffered the nation to flourish most under David and Solomon, who both pretended to be prophets; that Ahab, Jezabel, and other wicked princes, did well in cutting off the prophets, and yet were cut off themselves for it; that Moses gave them a most useless instruction, how to distin-

guish true from false prophets, instead of admonishing them to receive none; that the prophets foretold the fates of their own country; and of neighbouring nations; that their predictions were accomplished; and that, notwithstanding all this, they were false teachers, &c. And yet we read of no *Bedlam* erected at Jerusalem for the reception of *these* Sadducees.

13. Some of the Jewish fasts and feasts and religious customs stood upon prophetic authority, and with these the Sadducees complied. They paid as much regard to the temple, and to the service of the temple, as the other Jews, for which they had only prophetic warrant; and they heard the prophets read in the synagogues.

14. They came at first to John the Baptist, as to a prophet; though perhaps afterwards, like the Pharisees, finding that John was not such an one as they expected, and that he had borne testimony to Christ, they slighted and rejected him. See Matth. iii. 7. Luke vii. 30. and the commentators.

15. The rabbins, in their disputes with the Sadducees, have never charged them with discarding the prophets; but, on the contrary, reason against them from the prophets. Of this many instances might be given from their writings.

'Interrogarunt Sadducæi R. Gamalielem, undenam probaret Deum mortuos vivificaturum. Dixit illis, Ex lege, ex prophetis, ex hagiographis: ex lege, Deuter. xxxi. 16. ex prophetis, Esai. xxvi. 19. ex hagiographis, Cant. vii. 9.' Gemara Sanhedrin cap. 11.

Here are the texts produced by this doctor for proofs of a resurrection.

'And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, &c. Deut. xxxi. 16. Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: awake and sing ye that dwell in dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Isai. xxvi. 19. And the roof of thy mouth like the best wine, for my beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak[a].' Cantic. vii. 9.

[a] Rabbi Schabtai published in the year 1683 a catalogue of rabbinical writers, and called it 'Labia Dormientium,' from Cantic. vii. 9.

The doctor seems to have been in great distress for a proof 'ex hagiographis.' Surely he might have made a better choice.

In the question before us the learned are divided: on your side are Origen, Tertullian, Jerom, Petavius, Prideaux, &c. on my side, Jos. Scaliger, Pearson, Van Dale, Le Clerc, Samuel and James Basnage, &c.

The case I take to have been this: the Sadducees admitted the prophets, as sent from God to instruct and reform the nation, and to enforce the law; but they held that all articles of faith and fundamentals of religion were contained in the law, and were to be sought no where else. So that in reality they paid more regard to the prophets than did the Pharisees, who equalled their silly traditions to the sacred books. In preferring Moses to the prophets, the Jews seem to have been all pretty well agreed, and they made his superiority to consist in several things.

Thus you see, sir, that I am not willing to give up the point without a struggle. I have been pleading my cause again, partly for my own sake, lest I should seem to you to take up opinions at mere hazard, and lay them down as easily; and partly for your sake, that, if you should do me the favour to reply, you may not have a tame and passive antagonist to deal with, in conquering whom there would be no credit. If I fall, I could wish to fall like Hector in Homer, by an honourable hand, and after an honourable resistance:

Μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδεί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
Ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

Il. x. 304.

which, of all the fantastical titles that I can recollect, is one of the prettiest. It hath a double meaning, of which Schabtai was not aware; for most of his rabbinical brethren talk very much like *men in their sleep*.

III.

AN ORACLE IN HERODOTUS.

VIII. p. 483.

Ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάορον ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
Νήυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι, καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν,
Ἐλπίδι μαινομένη λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
Δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κορὸν, ὕβριος υἱὸν,
Δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πυθέσθαι.
Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης
Πόντον φοινίξει· τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
Εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει, καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

'Auricomæ densis ubi litora sacra Dianæ
Navibus insternent, et litoream Cynosuram,
Spe stolida fortes quod Athenas dilacerarunt,
Compescet juvenem meritissima pœna superbum,
Instinctum furiis, sibi cedere cuncta putantem.
Nam miscebitur æs æri, Mars sanguine pontum
Inficiet: Graiis tunc libera tempora reddet
Saturno genitus, simul et Victoria pollens.'

This oracle was supposed to have been delivered by Bacis, before the battle of Salamis; and to have been fulfilled in the signal victory which the Greeks then obtained over Xerxes.

On this oracle I received the following observation:

'Give me leave to propose to you this question, Whether in your Remarks, vol. i. p. 264. κρατερὸν κόρον ὕβριος υἱὸν, be rightly translated *juvenem superbum?* I apprehend that Gronovius has mistaken the word κόρος, which signifies here, not *juvenem*, but *fastum*, or *insolentiam*. My reason for this opinion is, that I find Pindar uses the word in this sense, Olymp. xiii. 12. where also he gives *insolence* the same parentage which the oracle attributes to it, viz. *pride*, Ὕβριν. His words are these: speaking of the social virtues that dwell at Corinth, he says,

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξεῖν ὕβριν κόρου
Ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

where it seems necessary that κόρος must signify *insolence*, or some such concomitant of *pride*. In Olymp. A. 89. κόρῳ δ' ἔλεν.—The scholiast says, κόρῳ, τῇ ὕβρει καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ· the words that follow indeed show that it was a metaphorical sense in which the word is here used, in the opinion of the scholiast: but this is not the case in Olymp. xiii. nor is it the case in Olymp. ii. αἶνον ἔβα κόρος. which is thus explained: τὸν ἐπαινὸν, τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θήρωνος, κόρος δὲ ὕβρις. The scholiast here plainly takes κόρος to signify *pride*, or some of its malignant attendants. And as from these passages it seems that the word may have the meaning of *insolence*, so I fancy you will not think it an inconvenient sense in the oracle cited. The insolence of the Persians, confident in their immense superiority, in the number of their troops, and spreading desolation in their march, is nobly painted in the verses following that which you have quoted, and this insolence seems a very fit object of divine punishment. I need not add, that if this interpretation be the true one, the expression is not in the Oriental manner, but entirely Grecian.

THE sameness of expression in Pindar and in the Oracle is very well observed by this gentleman; and these two writers were contemporaries: but the passage in Pindar, Olymp. xiii. is obscure, and has perplexed his commentators.

'Abundance begets insolence:' so says Theognis, and so says all the world;

Τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἕποιτο.

But Pindar, if the passage be not corrupted, inverts the proverb, and says, Ὕβρις τίκτει κόρον.

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξεῖν ὕβριν κόρου
Ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

'Volunt autem arcere injuriam, satietatis
Matrem audaciloquam.'

The scholiast censures the bold poet for the impropriety of the expression; for putting the cart before the horse. H. Stephen, for κόρου conjectures φθόρου. The Oxford editor retains κόρου, and admits the *hypallage*, and construes it back-

wards. If it be supposed that κόρος here is *insolence*, it is hard to conceive how ὕβρις can produce it, because there is too much identity between κόρος and ὕβρις.

Pindar often uses the word κόρος, commonly in the sense of *nimia satietas* and *saturitas*, and of *dislike* and *loathing*, and sometimes for *insolence*, or *envy*.

Pyth. i. 160.

Ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει
Αἰανὴς ταχείας ἀπάδις.

'nimia satietas, fastidium.'

And so Nem. x. 37.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀν-
θρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιάσαι.

And Pyth. viii. 43.

μὴ κόρος ἔλθῳ
Κνίσᾳ.

And Nem. vii. 77.

κόρον δ' ἔχει
Καὶ μέλι.

Olymp. ii. 173.

Ἀλλ' αἶνον ἔβα κόρος.

κόρος in this place may mean *envy*, excited by the glory and reputation of Theron, which was so great that his enemies could not bear it: and the word retains some idea of *overabundance*.

Nem. i. 97.

σὺν πλαγίῳ
Ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα.

Here κόρος seems to mean *oppressive insolence*.

Olymp. i. 89.

κόρῳ δ' ἔλεν
Ἄταν.

κόρῳ, that is, πλησμονῇ, as the scholiast rightly interprets it. Too much affluence and prosperity ruined him.

Isthm. iii. 4.

κατέχει
Φρασὶν αἰανὴ κόρον.

i. e. 'petulantiam ex satietate provenientem.'

But, to come to the Oracle, If we should suppose that κόρος there means *fulness*, or *insolence*, or *pride*, yet the author made *a person* of it; and by that *person* he meant Xerxes, as it appears, I think, from the fifth verse—κόρον—

Δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πυθέσθαι.

which I translate,

'Vehementer furentem, putantem se omnia rescivisse.'

'imagining that he had good intelligence, and knew all that passed amongst the Greeks.' He alludes to the stratagem of Themistocles, who sent word to Xerxes that the Greeks were in confusion, and preparing to run away; and advised him to seize the opportunity of inclosing and cutting them to pieces. By this trick the Athenian general, who had in him as much of the fox as of the lion, brought on a battle, which was what he wanted.

Who can tell whether the priest who composed this oracle might not use on purpose the ambiguous word κόρος, which may mean either *a young man*, or *fulness and satiety*, and so denote Xerxes, a young prince swelled with pride, and glutted with ravage? Ambiguity suits an oracle, and a little jargon is not amiss.

The translator of Herodotus rendered κόρον, *juvenem*, and Gale and Gronovius let it stand, and adopted it: and if it means *a person*, the phrase ὕβριος υἱὸν, may be accounted oriental and scriptural.

IV.

In p. 244 mention is made of a dream related by Grotius. The story is to be found in the life of Jacobus Guionius. 'Cum Philibertus De La Mare, senator Divionensis, vitam Jacobi Guionii describeret, non indignum sua narra-

tione existimavit, quod non Guionio ipsi sed Quarræo collegæ monitum nescio cujus Genii nocturnum acciderat.' Sed me locus admonet, ne rem inauditam hactenus, et ideo seculorum omnium memoria dignissimam prætream; quam etsi haud pertinere videatur ad Guionios, non abs re tamen hoc loco referre mihi visum est: seu, quia conscius illius fuit ac interpres Jacobus Guionius; seu quod vix apud posteros fidem inveniet, nisi testium omni exceptione majorum, et illius inter alios, cui illa contigit, testimoniis et subscriptionibus probata fuisset; ea tamen fuit: Fœderatorum factione plus justo in Burgundia valente, regiarum partium præsides ac senatores Semurium, primarium Mandutiorum oppidum regis nomine jus dicturi secesserant, cum Divione non liceret; ac inter eos Joannes Quarræus, qui feliciter miscuerat ornamenta togæ artibus belli. Is iv. calendas Augusti MDXCIV. circa secundam diei horam matutinam sibi visus est motu subito expergefieri, et verba quædam ignota pronunciare, cum famulo propius decumbenti surgere, et lampadem accendere jusso præcepit, ut eademmet verba, quæ, ne sibi elaberentur, dentibus quasi retinere videbatur, scripto consignaret in hunc modum: "Oug aposondes ton endon distiguion." Quod famulus confestim exsecutus est, neutro eorum, Græcane illa essent, an Arabica, aut alia, sciente. Quarræus quidem, quamvis abunde iis artibus excultus, quæ viro senatorio conveniunt, in suis professionum tabulis, ex quibus hæc historia a me excerpta est, scribit ingenue, se Græci sermonis plane fuisse inscium. Summo demum mane pergens in senatum Quarræus Jacobo Guionio, quicum illi consuetudo intercedebat, obvius fit, et vix salutatum rogat, ut ille verba, quæ ex sola eorum asperitate Græca esse conjectabat, interpretari vellet; quæ a Guionio lecta, Græca statim esse deprehendit, sed minime ex Homero excerpta, quod putavit novus quidam philosophus; hac autem ratione describenda: οὐκ ἀπώσοντες τῶν ἔνδον δυστυχιῶν. Quibus et interpretationem addidit verbis totidem: "Non repulsuri, quod intus infortunium." Horum vero cum diu sensum simul perpendissent, et si quid tristius in iis lateret, deprehendere conati fuissent, autor fuit Quarræo Guionius, ut, quia jam ex illa domo, quam Semurii incolebat, migrare constituerat, quod illius fœtori recurrentem iterum iterumque cœliacum dolorem, quem passus

fuerat, tribueret, non longiorem in illa moram traheret. Sed longe gravius exitium illa verba portendebant: siquidem post dies octo, cum Quarræus reipublicæ causa Flaviniacum, regiarum partium oppidum, perrexisset, domus illa a fundamentis convulsa de nocte repente concidit, fatalique, nec penitus improvisa Guionio ruina suos incolas oppressit: cujus rei historiam eleganti carmine (ut audio) Guionius postea cecinit, quo tam charum regi et reipublicæ caput jure merito e tanta clade ereptum fuisse sibi et bonis omnibus gratulabatur, minime omissa, ut debuit, Socratis et Bruti Geniorum mentione.

" Memorabilis hæc sane historia est, quæ, etsi ad Guionii personam non pertineret, occasione tamen a Guionio data inductus, minime prætermittendam existimavit Philibertus De la Mare: atque exemplo aliis fuit, quomodo in hoc argumento sit versandum." Morhof. Polyhist. i. 19. p. 217.

This seems to be the original (and a well-attested) story; whence the accounts of Grotius, Salmasius, and La Mothe le Vayer were derived. I am obliged to Mr. Samuel Johnson for referring me to this place in Morhof.

V.

JOSEPHUS.

Bell. Jud. iv. 6. Οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνους ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

'This place,' says a friend, 'wants emendation, as you have observed, Remarks, vol. i. p. 226. Perhaps it should be οἷς οὐκ ἐπιστήσαντες. Ἐφίστημι, amongst other things, means 'animum intendere, animadvertere;' and the sense will be—'which predictions the zealots not considering, *or* observing, *or* regarding, they caused them to be fulfilled.'—

VI.

IRENÆUS.

i. 22. Ed. Massuet.

'Omnia per ipsum fecit Pater—non per angelos, neque per virtutes abscissas ab ejus *sententia*.'

Virtutes, Δυναμεις. For *sententia*, it should perhaps be *substantia*, or *essentia*. οὐσία.

i. 22.

'Dicunt [Basilidiani] non oportere omnino ipsorum mysteria effari, sed in abscondito continere *pertinere* per silentium.' Grabe added *pertinere* from two manuscripts, which should be struck out, though it were in two hundred manuscripts. In the Greek it was, we may suppose, ἐν κρυπτῷ κατέχειν διὰ σιγῆς.

i. 24.

'Saturninus—unum Patrem incognitum omnibus ostendit.' Irenæus wrote ἀπέδειξε, that is, 'posuit, constituit, esse docuit.'

i. 25.

'Ad detractionem divini ecclesiæ nominis.' So Grabe. The former editions had, 'ad detractionem divini nominis et ecclesiæ,' which was right. 'Divinum nomen' is the name of Christ, or of Christianity.

ii. 28. p. 158.

'Neque nos erubescimus [or erubescamus] quæ sunt in quæstionibus *majora secundum nos* reservare Deo.'

In Greek it was μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, the things which are above us, and too high for us, as in Plato's Timæus: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν, καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Eusebius E. H. x. i. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τάδε μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογοῦντες—

It should therefore be, 'majora *quam* secundum nos.' The old interpreter of Irenæus translates word for word, without any regard to elegance: but the meanness and closeness of his version helps us often to discover the words of the author.

iii. 11. p. 192.

'*Quoniam* autem sola illa vera et firma, et non *capit* neque plura præterquam prædicta sunt, neque pauciora esse evangelia, per tot et tanta ostendimus.'

'Non capit,' that is, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, 'fieri non potest non

oportet.' Tertullian is very fond of this word. See Apol. c. 17. 'Quoniam' is ὅτι, 'quòd.'

iv. 10.

'Neque enim *varie*, neque elate, neque glorians dicit hæc.'

'Varie,' that is ποικίλως, 'subdole, versute.'

VII.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

Cohort. p. 74. Ed. Ox.

'Ιδέτω τις ὑμῶν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λατρεύοντας, κόμῃ ῥυπώντας, ἐσθῆτι πιναρᾷ καὶ καταῤῥηγυίᾳ καθυβρισμένους, λουτρῶν μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπειράτους, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκμαῖς ἐκτεθηριωμένους,—οὗτοί μοι δοκοῦσι πενθεῖν, οὐ θρησκεύειν τοὺς θεούς· ἐλέου μᾶλλον ἢ θεοσεβείας ἄξια πεπονθότες. 'Conspiciuntur sæpenumero, qui simulacris se addixerunt, comâ quidem sordidâ et incultâ, vestibus laceratis et squalore obsitis deformati, lavationibus prorsus abstinentes, unguibus in immanem longitudinem excrescentibus plane efferati,—Hi sane mihi lugere deos non colere videntur: ut qui ea patiantur, quæ misericordia potius digna sunt quam pietate.'

This description of the Pagan saints suits strangely well some Christian saints who arose after the time of Clemens, and shows the wonderful uniformity of superstition.

Tertullian, pleading the cause of the Christians, says; 'Sed—infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto? homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem ad vitam necessitatis. Neque enim Brachmanæ, aut Indorum gymnosophistæ sumus, silvicolæ, et exules vitæ. Meminimus gratiam debere nos Domino Deo creatori. Nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus; plane temperamus, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus hoc sæculum. Navigamus et nos vobiscum, et

militamus, et rusticamur; et mercatus proinde miscemus.' Apol. 42. But this was before the days of monkery.

Ib. p. 75.

It becomes a wise man to seek heavenly things, κατ' ἴχνος ἐκείνης τῆς φωτεινῆς ἀεροβατοῦντα νεφέλης, 'lucidam illam nubem per aëra sequentem.' He alludes to the Ajax of Sophocles, 32.

Κατ' ἴχνος ἄισσω.

Ib. p. 80.

Στρατευόμενόν σε κατείληφεν ἡ γνῶσις; τοῦ δίκαια σημαίνοντος ἄκουε στρατηγοῦ. 'Militantem te deprehendit cognitio? audi imperatorem, qui nil tibi, nisi quod justum est, imperat.'

Hence it appears that Clemens thought it lawful for a Christian to serve in the army, if, when he was converted to Christianity, he was a soldier. I would translate it, 'Obediens esto duci justa imperanti.'

Ib. p. 91.

Let us fly from the wicked world, the dangerous island: ἄδει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίδιον ὡραῖον, Ἡδονὴ, πανδήμῳ τερπόμενον μουσικῇ.

Δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰὼν, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν·
Νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα θειοτέρην θ' ἅπ' ἀκούσῃς.

'In ea autem cantat formosa meretricula, Voluptas, quæ publica vulgarique musica delectat:

"Huc age profectus, illustris Ulysses, ingens gloria Græcorum, Navem siste, ut diviniorem vocem audias."

The thought is pretty, and prettily expressed. Clemens compares *Pleasure*, the fair deceitful harlot, to the *Siren* singing to Ulysses. In Homer, Odyss. M. 184. it is not θειοτέρην, but νωϊτέρην. We must not imagine that θειοτέρην could be the true reading, or a various reading in Homer; for Cicero translates it,

'Auribus ut *nostros* possis agnoscere cantus.'

Clemens altered νωϊτέρην, because it was not proper for

his purpose. In Homer the *Sirens* speak who were *two*: Clemens introduces *Pleasure* speaking, and therefore changes νωϊτέρην into θειστέρην.

Ib. p. 95.

Οἷαι μὲν αἱ βουλαὶ, τοῖοι καὶ οἱ λόγοι· ὁποῖοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, τοιαίδε καὶ αἱ πράξεις· καὶ ὁποῖα τὰ ἔργα, τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος.

We have the same proverbial saying in Eusebius: Οἷον γοῦν τὸν λόγον, τοιόνδε φασὶ τὸν τρόπον. 'Ut vulgo dicitur, Qualis oratio, talis vita.' vi. 3.

'Hæc poëtica sunt,' says the editor of Clemens, 'et facile in Iambicos versus transeunt:'

Οἷαι μὲν αἱ βουλαὶ, τοιοίδε χ' οἱ λόγοι·
Ὁποῖοι δ' οἱ λόγοι, τοιαίδε χ' αἱ πράξεις.
Χ' ὁποῖα τἄργα, τοιοῦτος δ' ἐσθ' ὁ βίος.

But these iambics are cripples, and would be glad to be dismissed, and to return to humble prose, as they were never intended for any thing better. It would be easy to convert much of this author's prose into verses at least as good as these. For example, p. 2. Οὐκοῦν ᾠδῇ τῇ Εὐνόμου ἄγεται ὁ τέττιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βούλεται, χαλκοῦν ἀναστήσας Πυθοῖ τὸν Εὔνομον, αὐτῇ τῇ κιθάρᾳ, καὶ τὸν συναγωνίστην τοῦ Λοκροῦ· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐκὼν ἐφίπταται, καὶ ᾄδει ἑκών. This, if you will pardon a spondee or an anapæst in the fourth foot, falls into passable iambics:

οὐκοῦν ᾠδῇ τῇ Εὐνόμου
Ἄγεται ὁ τέττιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βούλεται,
Χαλκοῦν ἀναστήσας Πυθοῖ τὸν Εὔνομον,
Αὐτῇ κιθάρᾳ, καὶ τὸν συναγωνιστὴν Λοκροῦ·
Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἑκὼν ἐφίπταται, κἄδει ἑκών.

Clemens had a poetical genius, had studied the poets, and is perpetually borrowing their expressions, and made some poems himself; and in his Cohortatio particularly writes in a poetical style, and gives us what one would be tempted to call, *prose on horseback*, running too much into iambic measure, as p. 82.

Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστι πανταχοῦ σωτήριος.

This is said without any intention to reflect upon our editor of Clemens, or to detract in the least from his learned and useful labours. It is impossible to attend equally to every thing in so large a work; and it is no wonder if he have left a gleaning for those who come after him.

Pædagog. i. 6. p. 127.

Τὸ θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις
Πλείω πορίζει φίλτρα τοῦ φῦσαι τέκνα.

'Aluisse inter homines sæpe affert
Plura amoris incitamenta, quam procreasse liberos.'

The first verse wants the first foot. Write,

——τὸ θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις.

Ib. ii. 2. p. 8.

Φιλεῖ τε πολλὴν γλῶτταν ἐκχέας μάτην
Ἄκων ἀκούειν ἅπερ ἑκὼν εἶπεν κακῶς.

'Demensque lingua multa cum profuderit,
Invitus audit quæ volens dixit male.'

From this poet perhaps Terence borrowed,

'Si mihi pergit, quæ volt, dicere; ea, quæ non volt, audiet.'

Ib. ii. 2. p. 186.

Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου, &c.

This passage shows that Clemens knew nothing of *transubstantiation*. See the Editor. But there is a passage still stronger in Augustin against this unintelligible doctrine. 'Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui.'—For our Lord scrupled not to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body. August. contr. Adim. c. 12.

'Haud pauca sunt vocabula, quæ, non dicam obscuram, sed nullam plane potestatem subjectam habent; non secus quam Aristophanicum φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ.—Hoc observare est potissimum in vocabulis quibusdam, quæ *grandia* occultare dicuntur *mysteria*; qualia sunt vocabula *transub-*

stantiationis, Præsentiæ corporis, non naturalis, sed sacramentalis, Ubiquitatis humanæ naturæ Christi, &c. Quæ adferimus, non quasi sola, sed ut eximia quædam exempla vocabulorum nihil significantium.' Clericus Art. Critic.

Ib. ii. 8. p. 211.

τὸ δὲ πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος κοσμήσαντας, οἶκοι περιφέρειν, οὐ σωφρόνων. 'Ex puro autem prato contextam coronam pro ornamento domi circumferre, non est sobriorum hominum.'

'Hæc poetica sunt,' says the Editor. Poetical they are, to be sure; for they are taken from these elegant lines of Euripides:

Σοὶ τόνδε πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου
Λειμῶνος, ὦ δέσποινα, κοσμήσας φέρω,
Ἔνθ' οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοῖ φέρβειν βοτὰ,
Οὐδ' ἦλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
Μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἠρινὸν διέρχεται.

'Tibi hanc coronam contextam ex illibato
Prato, o domina, floribus ornatam fero;
Ubi neque pastor *vult* pascere suos greges,
Quo neque venit adhuc ferrum, sed illibatum
Pratum vernum apis peragrat.'

Hippol. Στεφαν. 73. where ἀξιοῖ is ill translated *vult*. The meaning is, 'Where the shepherd presumes not to feed his flocks.'

Instead of ἠρινὸν, in the last verse, I should like ἠρινός, Μέλισσα ἠρινὸς, *the vernal bee*.

Ib. p. 211.

ἄμφω γὰρ μαραίνετον (μαραίνεσθον) καὶ τὸ ἄνθος, καὶ τὸ κάλλος. 'Ambo enim flaccescunt, et flos, et pulchritudo.'

See the same thought in an epigram of the Anthologia, l. vii. p. 616. ed. Brod.

Πέμπω σοὶ, &c.

Ib. p. 213.

Οὐ γάρ μετέχεις ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας. 'Non es rosarum Pieriarum particeps.'

Taken from Sappho. The fragment, which makes us regret the loss of the poem, is thus:

Κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεαι,
Οὐδέ ποτε μναμοσύνα σέθεν
Ἔσσεται, οὐδεποκ' ὕστερον·
Οὐ γὰρ μετέχεις ῥόδων
Τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφανὴς
Κἦν Ἀΐδα δόμοις φοιτάσεις.

Whence Horace might borrow, Carm. iv. 9.

'sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.'

ii. 10. p. 235.

Τί γὰρ φρονιμόν.

These verses are set right, p. 254.

iii. 2. p. 257.

Τράπεζα πλήρης, καὶ κύλικες ἐπάλληλοι.

Versus Iambicus.

I take it to be prose. If it be a verse, it is a *Scazon.*

Ib. p. 259.

Ἐνυβρίζει τῷ ναυστάθμῳ ὁ βάρβαρος· ἀδικία κρατεῖ, καὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Διὸς ἐκείνου τὸ ὄμμα τοὺς Θρᾴκας βλέπει. 'Classi insultat barbarus, dominatum obtinet iniquitas, et ficti illius Jovis oculus Thracas respicit.'

He speaks of the Trojan war. ἀδικία κρατεῖ—that is, 'The perjured Trojans prevail, and Jupiter casts his eyes upon the Thracians;' for

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε,
Τοὺς μὲν ἔα παρὰ τῇσι πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ ὀϊζὺν
Νωλεμέως· αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινὼ,
Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν.

Homer Il. N. 1.

Heinsius for ποιητοῦ reads ποιητικοῦ, and indeed Clemens uses that expression, Strom. ii. 493. ἤδη γοῦν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ Διὸς τὴν αἰγίδα γράφουσι· which somewhat favours the emendation.

Ib.

Εὐγενὲς αἷμα βάρβαρα πίνει πέδια. 'Ingenuus sanguis barbaros potat campos.'

'The blood drinks the fields,' says the translator. One would rather think that the fields drink the blood. 'Ingenuum sanguinem barbari bibunt campi.'

Ib. p. 294.

Τὸ δ' ὅλον οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν· οὐδὲ κατακεκλασμένος, πλάγιον ποιήσας τὸν τράχηλον περιπατεῖν· ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ κιναίδους ἐνθάδε πολλοὺς ἐν ἄστει, καὶ πεπιττοκοπημένους. 'In summa, nescio ego susurrare, neque fractus in obliquum reflexo collo ingredi, quemadmodum alios hic cinædos multos video in civitate, vulsosque ac picatos.'

'Cujusdam comici verba,' says the Editor. True; and therefore they should be written thus:

Τόδ' ὅλον, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι
Ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν, οὐδὲ κατακεκλασμένος,
Πλάγιον ποιήσας τὸν τράχηλον, περιπατεῖν,
Ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ κιναίδους ἐνθάδε
Πολλοὺς ἐν ἄστει, καὶ πεπιττοκοπημένους.

Ib. p. 296.

Ὁ κωμικὸς Φιλήμων φησίν·
Ἐξὸν γυναικὸς, &c.

'Certissima emendatione,' says Bentley, 'sic locum repono:'

Ἐξὸν γυναικὸς ἐξόπισθ' ἐλευθέρας
Βλέπειν θεράπαιναν κατόπιν ἀκολουθεῖν καλὴν,
Ἐκ τοῦ Πλαταιϊκοῦ, παρακολουθοῦντά τε τινα
Ταύτῃ κατιλλώπτειν.

'Cum liceat videre pone fœminam ingenuam
Formosam ancillam incedere ex Platæico,
Et quendam comitantem huic oculis nictare.'

But, since the third verse is very clumsy, perhaps it should be,

Ἐκ τοῦ Πλαταιϊκοῦ, παρακολουθοῦντί τε
Ταύτῃ κατιλλώπτειν.

'Cum liceat (mihi) videre pone fœminam ingenuam
Formosam ancillam incedere ex Platæico,
Et hanc (ancillam) comitari, eique oculis nictare.'

See Bentley on Menander and Philemon, p. 133.

Ib. p. 312.

Clemens concludes his book with a Hymn to Christ:

Στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν, &c.

'Videtur mihi,' says Bull, 'hic hymnus desumptus ex Canticis sacris in primæva ecclesia usurpatis, vel certe ad eorundem imitationem compositus.' Def. Fid. Nic. p. 189.

But it is undoubtedly the composition of Clemens: the style shows it, and the expressions which he had used in the Pædagogus. Clemens was perhaps the first Christian who was capable of making such poems as this, and that which follows it.

Ib. p. 313.

Σοὶ τόνδε κἀγὼ Παιδαγωγέ, προσφέρω
Λόγοισι πλέξας στέφανον, ἐξ ἀκηράτου
Λειμῶνος.

'Hoc, Institutor, offero sertum tibi
Orationis nexibus textum, integris
E pascuis.'

This is an imitation of the verses of Euripides, which are cited above.

Ib.

Ὡς ἐργάτις μέλιττα χωρίων ἄπο
Βλάστην τρυγῶσα, χρηστὸν ἐκ σίμβλων πόνον
Κηρὸν δίδωσι τὸν γλυκὺν τῷ προστάτῃ.
Εἰ καὶ βραχὺς δ' ἐγώ τις, οἰκέτης γε σός.

'Ut artifex apicula, quando gramina
Vindemiat campis, labore ex utili
Ceram e favis domino suo dat optimam:
Nam sim licet minimus, tuus sum servulus.'

So Horace, Carm. iv. ii. 27.

'ego apis Matinæ
More modoque,' &c.

There is the same thought in Plato's Ion; and thence perhaps Clemens took it.

Strom. i. p. 238.

Στρεπτὴ γὰρ γλῶσσα βροτῶν. πολέες δ' ἔνι μῦθοι.

Here is a *καὶ* dropped.

Στρεπτὴ γὰρ καὶ γλῶσσα βροτῶν.

But in Homer, Il. Υ. 248. it is,

Στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν.

Ib. p. 360.

Ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας.

The anonymous writer of the Giants Wars, cited here by Clemens, says that Chiron

Εἴς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἤγαγε, δείξας
Ὅρκον, καὶ θυσίας ἱλαρὰς, καὶ σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

'Is primum universum genus ad justitiam duxit, indicatis jurisjurandi formulis, Deorum lætis sacrificiis, et cœli figuris.'

Ὀλύμπου σχήματα, according to some, are the *celestial gods*; as Sir Is. Newton thinks, they are the *asterisms* which Chiron delineated. Mr. Wasse conjectured that it should be *σήματ' Ὀλύμπου*, *the signs of heaven*. Chiron brought the world to a sense of religion by teaching the obligation of an oath, the manner of sacrificing, and the signs of the divine will, or the threats and admonitions, the portents and prognostics of heaven. See the Misc. Obser-

vat. ii. p. 233. To the passages collected by Mr. Wasse may be added these lines of Parmenides, as they stand in Clemens, Strom. v. p. 732.

Εἴση δ' αἰθερίαν τε φύσιν, τά τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πάντα
ΣΗΜΑΤΑ, καὶ καθαρᾶς εὐαγέος ἠελίοιο
Λαμπάδος ἔργ' αἴδηλα, καὶ ὁππόθεν ἐξεγένοντο.
Ἔργα τε κύκλωπος πεύσῃ περίφοιτα σελήνης.
Καὶ φύσιν.

'Ætheriamque scies naturam, et in æthere cuncta
Signa et sacrati clarissima lumina solis,
Quæ res obscura est valde; unde et nata fuere,
Et lunæ disces errantia signa rotundæ,
Naturamque scies.'

Ib. p. 399.

Πολυΐδός τε ἐν Ἄργει καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, οὗ μέμνηται ἡ τραγῳδία. 'Polyidus Argis et Megaris, cujus meminit tragœdia.'

Homer also mentions him, Il. N. 663.

Strom. ii. p. 463.

Some writer says in a comedy,

Παιδισκάριόν με, φησὶν, εὐτελὲς καταδεδούλωκεν.

'Puellula, inquit, vilis me sibi servum fecit.'

which may be thus restored to its measure:

Παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές.

Strom. iii. p. 508.

It appears here that the Basilidians used the Gospel of St. Matthew, and St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, but wrested and misrepresented them.

Ib. p. 517.

πᾶς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι συμφορή· 'quivis homo nihil est aliud quam calamitas.' This translation gives us not the sense of the Greek.

They are the words of Solon in Herodotus, i. 42. where the manuscripts, and the edition of Gronovius, have πᾶν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος συμφορή. And the meaning is, 'Man is altogether what chance makes him, happy or unhappy.' See

Kuster in Le Clerc Bibl. A. et M. v. p. 390. Gronovius understood it not.

Strom. iv. p. 574.

Κακὸν οὖν ἦν τὸ παίδευμ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν
Ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν, αἴ τ' ἄγαν τρυφαί.

'Nil pejus opibus fortitudinem docet
Homines misellos, nimiaque luxuries comes.'

From Euripides: but the first line is not a verse. Perhaps,

Κακὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ παίδευμ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν—

Or,

Κακὸν τὸ παίδευμ' ἐστιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν—

Ib. p. 600.

Basilides says,—ὁ μοιχεῦσαι θέλων, μοιχός ἐστι, κἂν τοῦ μοιχεῦσαι μὴ ἐπιτεύχῃ.

He alludes most manifestly to Matt. v. 28. Read,—μὴ ἐπιτύχῃ.

Ib. p. 635.

ἀεὶ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ σκοπῶν, τῷ ὄντι,
Οἷος πεπνυμένος, τοὶ δ' ὡς σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.

Every one hath seen that this is taken from Homer, and accommodated to the sentence with a small alteration: but it should not stand thus, like a verse, with a false quantity in it. It should be—ἀεὶ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ σκοπῶν, τῷ ὄντι, οἷος πεπνυμένος,

τοὶ δ' ὡς σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.

Homer, Odyss. K. 494. says of Tiresias;

Τῷ καὶ τεθνειότι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια,
Οἴῳ πεπνύσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.

Strom. v. p. 732.

Κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ὃς τάδε λεύσσων, θεὸν οὐχὶ νοεῖς, μετεωρολόγων δ' ἑκὰς ἔρριψεν σκολιὰς ἀπάτας, ὧν ἀτειρα

γλῶσσα εἰκοβολεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν, οὐδὲν γνώμης μετέχουσα. 'Ut ait Euripides, Qui hæc videns Deum mente non cogitat, de sublimibus autem rebus disputationis procul tortuosas jacit fallacias, quas indomita temere jaculatur lingua de iis quæ non videntur, nullius certe particeps sententiæ.'

The Latin version is somewhat incomprehensible, and *jargonic*. Let us pass it by, and consider the Greek, which may be put thus in better order, with very small alterations:

Κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην,

Ὃς τάδε λεύσσων, θεὸν οὐχὶ νοεῖ,
Μετεωρολόγων ἑκὰς ἔρριψεν
Σκολιὰς ἀπάτας, ὥνπερ ἀτειρὴς
Γλῶσσ' εἰκοβολεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν,
Οὐδὲν γνώμης μετέχουσα.

The meaning of the fragment is perhaps this:

'Qui hæc videns, Deum (auctorem) non sentit,
Is sophistarum temere effutit
Perversos errores, quorum garrula
Lingua male judicat de rebus non visibilibus,
Omni sapientia destituta.'

In the third line you may read ὧν ἀτηρά, which is the Editor's conjecture.

Ib. p. 817.

ὡς γάρ που τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς δι' ὑέλου σκεύους πλήρους ὕδατος μεθοδεύει ἡ τέχνη εἰς πῦρ—'nam ut ars viam excogitat, qua lux quæ a sole procedit, per vas vitreum aqua plenum ignescat.'

This was the burning-glass of the antients. See Pliny xxxvii. 2. and Aristophanes Nub. 764.

Strom. vii. p. 841.

σκῦλα μὲν βροτοφθόρα
Χαίρεις ὁρῶσ' ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια.

'spolia gaudes cum vides
Erepta cæsis, lacera, semidiruta.'

The second line is no verse. Perhaps,

Χαίρεις ὁρῶσα, καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια·

which also makes better sense. 'Tibi voluptati est videre spolia sanguinea, et cæsorum cadavera.'

VIII.

The Epistle of the church of Smyrna says of the martyrs; τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν· 'frigidus ipsis videbatur immanium carnificum ignis.'

This passage, which hath been misunderstood, relates to the torments inflicted on the martyrs before they were put to death. They were treated like slaves and criminals, and tortured; and in such tortures *fire* was *usually* one instrument.

Q. Curtius says of Philotas: 'Ac primo quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera, jam non ad quæstionem, sed ad pœnam ingerebantur,'—vi. 11.

Cicero in Verr. v. 63. 'Huccine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis Romanus—deligatus in foro virgis cæderetur? Quid, cum ignes ardentesque laminæ, ceterique cruciatus admovebantur?'

Seneca says of the emperor Caius: 'Ceciderat flagellis senatores; ipse effecit ut dici possit, Solet fieri: torserat per omnia, quæ in rerum natura tristissima sunt, fidiculis, tabularibus, eculeo, igne, vultu suo. Et hoc loco respondebitur, magnam rem! si tres senatores, quasi nequam mancipia, inter verbera et flammas divisit.'—De Ira iii. 19. 'Saxa, ferrum, ignem, Caium excepturi.' De Brev. Vit. 18.

'[Domitianus] plerosque partis adversæ—novo quæstionis genere distorsit: immisso per obscœna igne.' Suetonius Domit. x.

Cicero Topic. 20. 'Facit etiam necessitas fidem, quæ cum a corporibus, tum ab animis nascitur. Nam et verberibus, tormentis, igni fatigati, quæ dicunt, ea videtur veritas ipsa dicere.'

Propertius i. 1. 27.

'Fortiter et ferrum, sævos patiemur et ignes:
Sit modo libertas, quæ volet ira, loqui.'

iv. vii. 43.

'Lygdamus uratur, candescat lamina vernæ.'

Tibullus i. x. 21.

'Ure meum potius flamma caput, et pete ferro
Corpus, et intorto verbere terga seca.'

Horace Epist. i. xv. 36.

'Scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
Diceret urendos.'

Juvenal xiv.

'Tum felix, quoties aliquis, tortore vocato,
Uritur ardenti propter duo lintea ferro.'

Ovid. Met. iii. 696.

'et dum crudelia jussæ
Instrumenta necis ferrumque ignisque parantur.'

Seneca Œdip. 862.

'Huc aliquis ignem: flamma jam excutiet fidem.'

Petronius: 'In verba Eumolpi sacramentum juravimus, uri, vinciri, verberari, ferroque necari; et quicquid aliud Eumolpus jussisset, tanquam legitimi gladiatores domino, corpora animosque religiosissime addicimus.'

Seneca Epist. xxxvii. 'Eadem honestissimi hujus, et illius turpissimi auctoramenti verba sunt, uri, vinciri, ferroque necari. Ab illis qui manus arenæ locant, et edunt ac bibunt quæ per sanguinem reddant, cavetur ut ista vel inviti patiantur: a te, ut volens libensque.'

Epist. vii. 'Occide, ure, verbera. Quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum?'—

Quinctilian. Declam. ix. 'Fremebant ubique omnia apparatu mortis. Hic ferrum acuebat, ille accendebat ignibus laminas: hinc virgæ, inde flagella adferebantur.'

Tertullian Apol. 15. 'Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates, Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem.'

Ignatius Epist. ad Rom. 5. Πῦρ, καὶ σταυρὸς, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαὶ, διαιρέσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, καὶ κόλασις τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· 'Ignis, crux, ferarum concursus, sectiones, lanienæ, ossium discerptiones, membrorum concisiones, totius corporis contritiones, et Diaboli tormenta in me veniant, tantummodo ut Jesum nanciscar.'

Justin M. Dial. Κεφαλοτομοῦμενοι γὰρ καὶ σταυρούμενοι, καὶ θηρίοις παραβαλλόμενοι, καὶ δεσμοῖς, καὶ πυρὶ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις βασάνοις, ὅτι αὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τῆς ὁμολογίας, δῆλόν ἐστιν. 'Quod namque dum gladio percutimur, et in crucem agimur, et bestiis objicimur, et vinculis, et igne, et tormentis aliis omnibus plectimur et excruciamur, a professione nostra non discedamus, satis constat,' &c. &c. &c.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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